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Pedagogical Truth Library.

Christian Education in the Dark Ages.

(A. D. 476—A. D. 1100)

BY THE

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SAINT IGNATIUS COLLEGE, CHICAGO, ILL.

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Introduction.

IN presenting this, the first issue of the series, which we trust will contain many numbers, we wish to point out that the apparently wilful misrepresentation of the part enacted by the Catholic Church and Catholic Educators in the development of education in the pretentious histories of Pedagogy, which have so long been before the reading public, have made it necessary for steps to be taken to make the truth known to American readers. The most crass ignorance prevails with regard to education in the dark ages. This reprint of an able and attractive article, will, we trust, be found timely. We respectfully solicit the co-operation of all fair-minded people in our endeavor to present the other side of the question that has suffered so much heretofore by misrepresentation or suppression. "Audiatur et altera pars."

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THE fifth century closed in darkness, and as we look at the situation of affairs which immediately followed, not with the jaundiced eye of a prejudiced critic, but with the candid fairmindedness of one in search of the truth, the wonder is, not that the times were dark but that there was any light at all. Historians of the school of Hallam, and especially Robertson, whom the Protestant Maitland characterizes as "a very miserable second-hand writer," find it to their interest somehow to besmirch the memory of the monks of old, while they heap mountains of calumny and gross misrepresentations upon a system of religious institutions of whose supernatural nature and purport they understood absolutely nothing. Their broad and unsubstantiated assertions, sad to say, are allowed by many to pass unchallenged. While the continent of Europe was swarming with barbarians and weltering in blood; while its towns and cities with their amassed treasures were given over to pillage and fire; when all seemed lost, the monasteries became the sole reposit-

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tories of learning, and continued so for many a long, long day. This is the incontestable fact as it confronts us upon the page of history, and the most ingenious combinations of talent and bigotry have never been able to disprove it.

We have seen how from the very outset monasteries became educational centres. We may form some idea of the intellectual atmosphere which they developed if we bear in mind that, with few exceptions, the early fathers and doctors of the Church had been monks or were educated in monasteries—Athanasius, Basil, Chrysostom, Gregory Nazianzen, Jerome, Augustine, Fulgentius, Sulpicius Severus, Vincent of Lerins, Cassian, Salvian, and much later, Gregory the Great—not to speak of others, the bare mention of whose names is guarantee sufficient of the educational value of the ancient monastic training. It was the profound learning of these mighty ones of the elder time, as embalmed in their imperishable works, which for centuries presided over the development of Christian doctrine and formed the groundwork of Scholasticism in a subsequent age. The immortal "Summa" of the Angelical Doctor did but codify and systematize truths upon which these primitive writers,

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pupils of the monasteries, had rung the magnificent changes ages before. At the end of the fifth century the West, like the East, had become fruitful in these nurseries of learning, and when the municipal schools disappeared with the fall of the Empire, children were driven to have recourse to them for whatever learning was saved from the universal wreck.

There was one flaw, however, in the monastic system as it then existed, and that was the lack of proper organization, in default of which satisfactory and permanent educational results were less readily attainable. The evil was remedied by the great patriarch of the West, St. Benedict, who, A. D. 529, at Monte Cassino laid the foundations of an order destined to absorb or supplant all previous monastic institutions in the West and keep alive in its cloisters the torch of learning amid the worse than Cimmerian darkness deepening around. That it filled a pressing need is obvious from the rapidity with which it spread. Before the end of the century in which it was born Benedictines were in every country laboring and praying and teaching, and by the disinterested holiness of their lives pointing the way to an elevation of character and a meed of civilization of

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which the barbarian had never heard or dreamt.

The time of the monks was devoted to the inculcation of a knowledge which to us seems scant enough, though it was considerable then. It was mainly ecclesiastical in character. The fact is quite intelligible when we remember that the principal object of education in an age so barbarous was not so much cultivation as civilization—finish as foundation. What youth needed most was to outgrow its savage environments, and to this secular education was far less conducive than familiarity with the truths of Holy Writ and the fruitful suggestiveness of the Church's liturgy. Besides, the primary object of the monastic schools was to train aspirants to the religious or priestly state, and it was only as a matter of necessity that they were thrown open for the patronage of students intended for mere secular avocations. Many were put in the monasteries when very young; some even in their infancy.¹ This was rendered more or less urgent by the prevailing disorders, and found abundant sanction, secular and ecclesiastical, in the admitted customs of the times. Thus, for instance, St. Boniface, the great apos-

¹ See Appendix p. 55, note 1.

tle of Germany, became a monk when only five years old.² Venerable Bede, as he tells us himself, entered the monastery of Wearmouth at seven; while St. Bruno, as late as the tenth century, was committed to the monks at Utrecht at the advanced age of four years. About the age of seven, children began the work of education proper by learning the Psalter. It was of obligation for all monks and ecclesiastics to know it, and accordingly it was the first thing taken up. When they had mastered it they entered upon their course of profane study, which consisted, presupposing the acquisition of reading and writing, of the three fundamentals; grammar, rhetoric and logic, which constituted what was called the *Trivium*; and the four mathematical and more advanced sciences of arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy, which were known as the *Quadrivium*. The two together embraced what was called "The Seven Liberal Arts." By "grammar" was understood something more than etymology, syntax and prosody. It included rhetoric and, in a measure, the study of literature. "Rhetoric" in turn was rather declamation and public speaking. By "music" was understood the science as

² See Appendix p. 56, note 2.

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far as acquaintance with it then extended, which, we may suppose, was considerable in some cases when we bear in mind that Gregorian chant takes its name from a monk in the sixth century, Pope Gregory the Great, whose famous school of chant was for a long time prominent and became the model of many others subsequently founded in Germany and France by Saint Boniface and Charlemagne.³ The language spoken in the class-room was Latin, and children were required to master it even before the vernacular. The literature studied was mainly Roman. In fact, the whole monastic educational system bore a striking resemblance to that of the ancient municipal schools of the Empire, already described. "The curriculum," says Cardinal Newman, "derived from the earlier ages of heathen philosophy, was transferred to the use of the Church on the authority of Saint Augustine, who in his *De Ordine* considers it to be the fitting and sufficient preparation for theological learning. It is hardly necessary to refer to the history of its formation; we are told how Pythagoras prescribed the study of arithmetic, music and geometry; how Plato and Aristotle in-

³ See Appendix p. 57, note 3.

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sisted on grammar and music, which, with gymnastics, were the substance of Greek education; how Seneca speaks, though not as approving, of grammar, music, geometry and astronomy as the matter of education in his own day; and how Philo, in addition to these, has named logic and rhetoric. Saint Augustine in his enumeration of them begins with arithmetic and grammar; including under the latter, history; then he speaks of logic and rhetoric; then of music, under which comes poetry as equally addressing the ear; lastly of geometry and astronomy, as addressing the eye. The Alexandrians, whom he followed, arranged them differently, viz., grammar, rhetoric and logic or philosophy, which branched off into the four mathematical sciences of arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy."

Greek was studied very little and an acquaintance with its literature was individual and exceptional. Hence it does not figure extensively in the class-room until quite late. It was indeed a rare accomplishment, and with the vast majority served no higher purpose than an elegant affectation. Bede, Alcuin, Paschasius and others, we are told, were familiar with it, and it is no more than likely that they

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taught it to some of their pupils, without, however, giving it in the school-room the prominence enjoyed by Latin. In a few of the monasteries, notably that of St. Gall, it was studied and taught, and from a very early date. With time it came into more general use and played a more conspicuous part in later monastic curricula. This impulse given to its pursuit was due to Charlemagne, who set the seal of his royal approbation, so to speak, upon it and made its cultivation the fashion by having it taught in the college of Osnaberg, established by him, and which attained some renown, but whose history is lost in the darkness and confusion which enveloped the period. It is noteworthy that some of the most proficient Greek scholars of the mediæval times were women. In fact, having the same and in many cases better facilities for mental improvement than the men, and having more time on their hands and nothing but serious books within reach, it is not surprising that the ladies of those days, whether nuns in convents or dames at court, did much to foster the thorough cultivation of the classics—Hebrew, Latin and Greek. Very many of them wrote Latin, and a few, Greek verse with finish and ease. Saint Radegundes, a nun of

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the sixth century, found leisure for the study of the Latin and Greek patristic commentaries. Among the friends of Saint Boniface was a community of English nuns remarkable for their classical attainments, many of whom at his request followed him to Germany and there opened schools for girls. Foremost among them was Saint Lioba, who, it is narrated, was thoroughly versed in the Scriptures, the writings of the Greek and Latin fathers, and the canons of the Church. The nuns in the convent of the famous but unfortunate Heloise studied Greek as well as Latin, Hebrew and Arabic; while of another we are told that she familiarized herself not only with the Greek and Latin classics, but also with the philosophical works of Aristotle.

Physical science, as might be expected, was far less developed in the monastic schools than the study of language. Many of the monks lectured and wrote upon such subjects, some of them voluminously, but their views in most cases, if not groundless surmises, were at least broader than their premises, and in the light of subsequent investigation and discovery have proven the merest puerilities. But for all that it is to their credit that despite the odds against them they fos-

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tered a spirit of scientific inquiry at all and while, on the one hand, it does not add much to our stock of information to be told, for instance, as Rabanus Maurus, one of the mediæval lights, tells us, that the mouse and house-fly came originally from Greece, and that birds are divided into big birds and little birds, in which latter class he puts the wasp and the locust, yet, on the other, it is a subject of wonder to see what acquaintance Bede, and centuries later Albertus Magnus, had with matters whose discovery we are accustomed to look upon as of comparatively recent date. We can afford to marvel when the great naturalist Von Humboldt could not refrain from expressing his surprise. "Albertus Magnus," he says, "was equally active and influential in promoting the study of natural science and of the Aristotelian philosophy. . . . His works contain some exceedingly acute remarks on the organic structure and physiology of plants. One of his works, bearing the title of 'Liber Cosmographicus de Natura Locorum,' is a species of physical geography. I have found in it considerations on the dependence of temperature concurrently on latitude and elevation, and on the effect of different angles of incidence of the sun's rays in

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heating the ground, which had excited my surprise." *

As text-books were rare, a great deal of dictation was necessary. The weariness which it begot soon led to the invention of shorthand methods of reporting discourse. Some monasteries became famous for their shorthand classes, and their professors celebrated not only for their own but for their scholars' proficiency. Of the text-books in use, the most renowned were the "Grammatical Institutions" of Priscian, in eighteen books, of which, so the story goes, Theodosius the younger was so enamored that he copied them with his own hand; the "Distichia Moralia," a popular class-book whose composition was attributed to Cato, but is more commonly believed to have been the work of a monk in the second century; ** the grammar of Donatus, the teacher of Saint Jerome, which continued a favorite throughout the middle ages; various books of Boëtius, a writer of the fifth century and one of the last and brightest scholars of the decline. He wrote original Latin productions for class

* *Cosmos*, vol. ii., p. 243 *in fine*. Translation by E. C. Otte.

** On this work, cf. *Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars*, Healy, p. 117.

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use, and it was to his translations from the Greek that the mediæval students owed much of their acquaintance, which was none too extensive, with the writers of Hellas. To these let us add "On the teaching of Sacred Letters" and "The Seven Liberal Arts," written by Cassiodorus for the school which he founded at Viviers, and which were also works in long and favored repute. The best known and no doubt the most generally used was the "Satyricon" of Martianus Capella, written about the year 460. It was an encyclopædia in nine books, covering in its treatment the matter embraced in the *Trivium* and *Quadrivium*. It contained whatever knowledge was then extant upon the so-called "Seven Liberal Arts," and such was its widespread popularity that it continued in favor as the text-book by excellence for upwards of a thousand years and was translated into various languages and adopted everywhere. Possibly the one who did most in the composition of text-books, and that at a time which Mr. Hallam stigmatizes as the nadir of European civilization, was Saint Isidore, Archbishop of Seville, and one of the founders of the celebrated seminary to which allusion has already been made in a previous paper. He died

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in the year 630. Isidore was certainly a learned man, and was looked upon as an intellectual prodigy by his contemporaries. The work which won him his great reputation is entitled "Origines; seu Etymologiarum Libri." It is in twenty books, and not only embraces the *Trivium* and the *Quadrivium*, but also the subjects God, man, the world, Scripture, medicine, law, language, geography, agriculture, zoology, and a number of other miscellaneous topics. Of these productions, and similar ones of lesser note, Hallam remarks that their very meagreness is proof sufficient of an almost total literary decay. True. No one attempts to deny their superficiality of treatment. On the other hand, they are not to be tried by the canons of nineteenth century criticism, which it would be well for Hallam, Milman, Robertson, Brucker, and our own Mr. Emerton always to bear in mind.

The cloistral and cathedral schools, in default of many of our modern improvements, were conducted under difficulties not hard to conceive. The monastic schools for externs was in a building apart from the cloister. There was a head master and an assistant. In the larger monastic institutions the corps of

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professors, as we would now phrase it, was quite numerous. The system was paternal, though the rod figured conspicuously in the moral training of the mediæval "small boy," but hardly to the absurd extent asserted by Laurie, who says that "in many monasteries all the boys were periodically flogged as a kind of general atonement for sins past and possible;" this, too, on the ridiculous assumption that the devil was in the heart of every boy, and could only be gotten out by trouncing. The students, especially the younger ones, were carefully looked after by the monks appointed to act as prefects, and whose duty it was to remain with their charges night and day—exercising the closest supervision over their conduct. Education was absolutely free, and in many instances, as at Yarrow in the time of Venerable Bede, indigent pupils were even provided with food and clothing at the expense of the cloister. The boys continued at school until fourteen years of age, when they departed to enter their respective fields of labor. If they desired to be monks, they remained in the monastery undergoing the discipline suited to that kind of life. Facilities for the pursuit of higher studies were not to be had until the time of Charlemagne, A. D. 768,

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who, in imitation of the imperial system of old Rome, whose educational as well as governmental polity he sought in many respects to reproduce, founded advanced schools in various parts of his extensive domain. The most celebrated were at Paris, Tours, Pavia, Rheims, Lyons, Fulda and Bologna. Some see in them the germs of the mediæval universities, whose origin scholars find it difficult to trace with accuracy. Such were the teachers, such was the learning afforded by the early mediæval monastic schools. It may be taken as a fair estimate of the educational advantages offered by the monasteries in general. We say "in general" for some were, of course, more advanced than others. But our concern is not with the exception, but with the rule. That education under these circumstances, and in spite of the obstacles in the way of its development, did not remain at a standstill, is sufficiently manifest by the progress made in certain monasteries when the circumstances of the times, especially the royal patronage and the discontinuance of wars, were conducive to its rapid and healthy growth. Indeed it is impossible not to observe, though the transition be at times ever so gradual and well nigh invisible, as we thread our way

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through the twilight from the sixth to the twelfth century, a progressive movement towards the broader educational condition of things in which it finally culminated. Where the monks of the fifth and sixth centuries were occupied with saving the remnants of ancient literature, purging and adapting authors for class purposes, and imparting the merest elements to the as yet untutored barbarian, their successors in the eighth and ninth and eleventh had strung their instruments for songs in a higher key. The monk Gerbert, raised subsequently to the Papal chair under the title of Sylvester II., was holding forth upon the *Categories* and *Topics* of Aristotle. The professors in certain German monasteries were delivering lectures in Greek, Hebrew and Arabic. At Dijon the monks of St. Benignus were discoursing on medicine, while the enterprising inmates of Saint Gall were teaching painting, engraving, and, in the opinion of some, sculpture.⁴ This development would have been more systematic and pronounced from the start if the zeal of the monks, unhampered by endless political and social unrest, had been the only factor in the calcula-

⁴ See Appendix, p. 57, note 4.

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tion. It was not, however, and these pious men who found so much time for the conduct of schools still felt that the bulk of their energies had to be devoted to the spiritual rather than the intellectual benefit of their neighbors. How well they succeeded in their missionary undertakings is shown by the fact that within the compass of six centuries they had reclaimed from Arianism the Goths and Vandals, and "instructed in the Gospel the idolatrous nations of Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Bulgaria, Hungary, Saxony, Poland and Russia."

Such was the monk at home: such his work. But if we would gauge him aright and allot him his due meed of praise we must follow him abroad and study his endeavors for the widespread diffusion of knowledge. The fifth century, as we have said, closed in darkness. The schools of the Empire and the earliest attempts at Christian education were at first brought to naught by the deluge of barbarism which swept over the continent of Europe, though destined, after years of almost utter obliteration, to revive and become the foundation of modern civilization, reform and culture. In the meanwhile, that is in the sixth and seventh centuries, by a providential arrangement, peace reigned

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in what are now the British Isles. Thither learning fled. In England and Ireland, during the three centuries following the fall of the Roman empire, monasteries were multiplied, and education diligently fostered, and scholars nurtured who went forth when the storm abated and set about the process of reconstruction all through Europe. During the sixth and seventh centuries, says Dr. Döllinger, the schools in the Irish cloisters were "the most celebrated in all the west." Famous among them were those of Armagh, which at one time could boast of seven thousand pupils; Lismore; Cashel; Kildare; Aran "of the saints;" Clonard, where the great Columba studied; Clonmacnoise; Bencor, and Clonfert, founded by Saint Brendan.⁵ The arrival of Saint Augustine in England with a colony of monks from Monte Cassino, A.D. 597, inaugurated for the seventh and eighth centuries a most prosperous educational era in that island. Canterbury, Lindisfarne, Malmsbury, Croyland, Yarrow, Wearmouth, York, Oxford and various other centres, are at once suggestive to the student of history of the active spirit which had taken possession of the country. To the schools of these isles, and that for upwards of three

⁵ See Appendix, p. 57, note 5.

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hundred years, students, regardless of the difficulties of the journey, flocked in thousands and from all quarters, even from Greece and Egypt. Of the great men who studied within their enclosure, and who afterwards became the pioneers of the revived learning and civilization throughout the western world, it will suffice to mention Saint Columba, the Apostle of Caledonia; Saint Columbanus, who evangelized France, Burgundy, Switzerland and Lombardy; Saint Columbkille; Saint Boniface, the Apostle of Germany; Saint Gall, the Apostle of Switzerland; Saint Fridolin; Saint Sigisbert; Saint Killian; Saint Virgilius; Saint Cataldus; Saint Kentigern; Saint Willibrod; Saint Donatus; Saint Frigidian; Venerable Bede; Aldhelm; Alcuin, and an army of others. Under their influence the barbarian, grown weary of strife and realizing the desolation which he had wrought, was gradually moulded to better things. He became as eager to learn as they were to teach, and their work went on prosperously if slowly. "As the Irish missionaries," to quote Newman again, "travelled down through England, France and Switzerland to lower Italy and attempted Germany at the peril of their lives, founding churches, schools and monasteries as

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they went along, so, amid the deep pagan woods of Germany and round about, the English Benedictine plied his axe and drove his plough, planted his rude dwelling and raised his rustic altar upon the ruins of idolatry, and then, settling down as a colonist upon the soil, began to sing his chants and to copy his old volumes, and thus to lay the slow but sure foundation of the new civilization."*

The first of the three most notable movements in the direction of educational progress occurred during the reign of Charles the Great, which extended from A.D. 768 to A.D. 814. This illustrious man—"the King of Europe" and "the Orthodox Emperor," as he was fondly styled on account of the vast extent of territory over which he ruled and his noble defense of religion, though himself a stranger to literary cultivation could nevertheless appreciate the accomplishment in others. A journey through Italy about the year 780 brought him in contact with certain scholars of whose learning he was in admiration. The event determined him to do all in his power to raise the intellectual standard of his subjects by putting within their reach every facil-

* *Loc. cit.*

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ity for educational improvement. It was the dream of Charlemagne's lifetime to lay the foundation of an empire destined to rival in splendor the glories of ancient Rome, and he felt that this was impossible without the revival of letters on a scale approaching, if not surpassing, the traditional renown of the Augustan Age. He had heard of the system of higher and secondary education as it had prevailed in the universities of old at Rome, Athens, Constantinople, Alexandria and elsewhere. He had seen it in active though imperfect operation in the Benedictine monasteries, in which a partial line of demarcation between the higher and lower studies was drawn. Accordingly, his first care was to send earnest instructions to the bishops and abbots and priests, urging them to enter heartily into his scheme of educational reform by exerting themselves vigorously for the benefit of their cathedral and monastic as also of their parochial schools. All this in order to qualify youth to enter into the Palatine or Palace School established at the Court, or similar institutions soon to be modeled upon it in other parts of the kingdom. The text of this capitular or encyclical letter, "the first general charter of education for the middle ages," is

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quoted in full by Mr. Mullinger in his popular and well-known work upon the schools of Charlemagne as affording a marked evidence of the educational status of the times. "We exhort you, therefore," says the emperor, "not only not to neglect the study of letters, but to apply yourself thereto with perseverance and with that humility which is well pleasing to God. . . . Let there therefore be chosen for this work men who are both able and willing to learn and also desirous of instructing others; and let them apply themselves to the work with a zeal equalling the earnestness with which we recommend it to them."⁶ The emperor's next care was to secure the best professors, and for these he looked to England and Ireland. The most celebrated of those whose services he engaged was Alcuin, an English monk of the monastery of York. He enjoyed widespread fame as a teacher and a scholar, and so impressed Charles, whom he met at Parma on the occasion of the visit already alluded to, that he prevailed upon him to resign his position as head master of the schools in his monastery and take up his residence in Frankland, there

⁶ See Appendix p. 58 note 6

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to become the corner-stone of the new order of things about to be inaugurated.⁷ The learning which Alcuin brought with him was signalized and recommended by the tradition which had come down to him through a series of distinguished saints and scholars direct from the See of Peter.⁸ He continued with very little interruption for fourteen years, from A.D. 782 to A.D. 796, co-operating with his royal master for the furtherance of his educational plans. He then severed his connection with the Palace school, retired from court, and sought a quiet retreat in the monastery of Saint Martin, at Tours, the incursions of the Norsemen, which had begun in the meantime, rendering it impossible for him to return to his much-loved island home.

Among the distinguished successors to Alcuin in the Palace School should be mentioned Rabanus Maurus, also Dungal and Clement, two Irish scholars of rare ability, whose proffered services in the cause of education Charlemagne readily accepted and rewarded. At a later date, during the reign of Charles the Bald, and after the school had been transferred

⁷ See Appendix p. 58, note 7.

⁸ See Appendix p. 58, note 8.

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from Aix-la-Chapelle to Paris, we find at the head of it the famous Scotus Erigena, with whom theologians are sufficiently familiar. Scotus was an eminent Oriental linguist, had studied in Ireland and travelled much in the East, where no doubt the metaphysical speculations for which he had become so celebrated had become tinged with the Platonism of the Alexandrian Schools. His heretical views touching the Eucharist and free will soon led to no end of conflict and controversy, until his public condemnation by the Church became an imperative necessity. The Palace School and such as were more or less fashioned upon it were intended to furnish every facility for the prosecution of higher studies, and therefore designed to complete the work begun in the primary or parochial schools, and carried on through the minor cathedral and monastery schools. A youth, graduating from one of these latter, passed to one or other of the former or major schools which, by royal decree issued A.D. 789, had been erected in connection with certain of the larger monasteries, as, for instance, with those of Saint Gall, Fulda, Fleury, Fontanelles, and at least a dozen more referred to by Mabillon. In the primary or village

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parochial school reading, writing, arithmetic and singing were all that was taught. In the minor schools the work previously begun was continued and augmented by the addition of the *Trivium*. In the major schools the *Quadrivium* was added, and such special languages and sciences as individual institutions were able to supply, which, in some cases were considerable. Over the primary or parochial school the parish priest presided. Over the monastery school, minor and major, whether conducted for interns or externs, the abbot. Over the cathedral school, the bishop, directly, or indirectly by means of the *Scholasticus*, or head master appointed by him. Instruction was gratuitous. The schools were strictly public; equally open to rich and poor. The whole system was capped by the Palace School. From it all others naturally took their cue, as it was generally, though not always, controlled by the best teachers, and consequently was easily able to set the fashion and give the tone to the rest of the country in matters literary and scientific. It is worthy of observation that the Palace School was for girls as well as boys; women as well as men. It was to one of his female pupils that Alcuin dedicated his commenta-

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ries upon the Gospel of Saint John and his treatise on the nature of the human soul. It goes without saying that throughout the moral training of the pupils was most sedulously looked to. Catechism, Scripture, ecclesiastical chant and the Church's calendar and ceremonies were carefully taught. It certainly must have been a great stimulus to the diligence of scholars everywhere to note the zest with which the Emperor "went to school," taking his place upon the forms in the class-room and asking and answering questions like the youngest pupil, whilst the eloquence of Alcuin opened up to his untutored mind the profundities of grammar and arithmetic or of astronomy, of which he seems to have been particularly fond. We may thus conceive of the Palace School as a sort of university centre, though in no sense a university; nor, in the opinion of Cardinal Newman, even the nucleus of the subsequent mediæval universities, as Du Boulay, in his eagerness to trace the origin of that of Paris to Charlemagne, so stoutly contends. Some idea of the broad gauge upon which the Emperor proposed to operate his plan of educational reform may be gathered from the fact that even the Palace School was not intended ex-

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clusively for members of the court, but admitted also those of humble origin whose exceptional talent gave promise of future ability.

When in this connection we speak of "higher studies," we use the term relatively, of course. There was, for instance, in astronomy as taught by Alcuin much that was never dreamt of in Herschel's philosophy or seen through the Lick telescope. But all the same, what there was of endeavor merits praise instead of ridicule, as it pointed distinctly to a forward and not to a retrogressive movement. It may be said that the great Emperor brought the full force not only of his example but also of his authority to bear upon the promotion of education throughout his dominions. As he had commanded, and that in various capitulars, all bishops, abbots and priests to second his efforts to provide the necessary learning for his subjects, so in like manner he commanded the subjects in their turn to profit to the full by the opportunities afforded. Every inducement in the shape of rewards and preferments was offered, and when these failed compulsion was had recourse to. In a capitular issued A. D. 812 he ordained that "every one should send his son to study letters,

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and that the child should remain at school and study with all diligence until he should be well instructed in learning." The result of so much activity on the part of Charlemagne and such prompt co-operation on the part of the monks was a general revival of learning within his dominions. Their influence was still more widespread. Wherever the fame of his literary achievements extended; wherever the pupils of the Frankish schools travelled, there the spirit of inquiry was awakened and an eager desire to imitate, if not to emulate them, was enkindled. That his scheme of reform, left to itself, would have produced permanent and happy results there is no questioning. His immediate successors, Louis le Debonnaire and Charles the Bald, did their utmost to bring it to maturity. But political dissensions, whose origin and course it were beyond our present purpose to trace, begot civil discord, and in the social upheavals of protracted war the educational work of Charlemagne was undone. The growth of feudalism and the dismemberment of the Carlovin-
gian Empire, which was in progress for a century and a half—that is to say from the middle of the ninth to the end of the tenth century—played havoc with the

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schools. Yet it were false to say that the interest and industry put out by so many minds and through so long a time upon the advancement of learning were productive of no results. There is a conservation of moral as of physical energy in the world, and the prolific idea, once set in motion, never dies until it has brought forth to fullness, somewhere and somehow, the fruitage of which its pent-up vitality gave hopeful assurance. The efforts of Charlemagne, if not altogether successful, were certainly not entirely abortive. The cathedral and conventual schools had been actively revived.⁹ A new impulse had been given to the study of the German language.* Pupils graduated from his schools had scattered themselves over Europe, disseminating elsewhere the seed which could no longer grow in soil now become uncongenial. While the entire life of the great man, in so far as he is connected with the history of education, has built up a tradition whose splendor still hangs, like a sunset glory upon the distant and darkening horizon of those far-off times, and still works like a charm upon the minds of

⁹ See Appendix p. 58, note 9.

**Cf. Saint Boniface and the Conversion of Germany*, Hope, c. 25.

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scholars. None the less, it is true that at this juncture, the beginning of the tenth century, the continent was lapsing into darkness. Education and learning once again fled to Britain, where peace was beginning to reign, and there sought to build themselves a habitation among the ruined and deserted cloisters where the monk of other days had lived and prayed and studied and taught.

When Alfred the Great, A. D. 872, succeeded to the throne of Britain the aspect of affairs was dismal in the extreme. The ravages of the Danes had exiled studies from the kingdom and left but little trace of the educational labors of the early monks and missionaries. The churches and monasteries, the only homes of learning had been pillaged. The inmates, its only guardians, had been murdered. Lindisfarne, Coldingham, Tynemouth, Bardney, Croyland, Medeshamstede and Ely amongst the number, were in ashes. "At this period," says Dr. Lingard, speaking of the close of the Danish invasion, "the English church offered to the friends of religion a melancholy and alarming spectacle. The laity had resumed the ferocity of their heathen forefathers; the clergy were dissolute and illiterate; and the monastic order was in

a manner annihilated.* Like Charlemagne, Alfred felt that his mission was to be one of reconstruction. Accordingly he set to work to rebuild monasteries, to gather together teachers, open schools, and urge his subjects, by example no less than by precept, to do all in their power for the furtherance of knowledge. Returning from Rome, a visit to the court of Charles the Bald had thrown him in contact with scholarly men and introduced him to the workings of the Palace School, which he made it his purpose to reproduce in his own dominions as soon as a lull in the storm of battle would permit.

During the fifteen years of peace which the country enjoyed immediately after the decisive encounter of Ethandune (A.D. 873), Alfred set vigorously to work. He gave himself to diligent study, securing as teacher and head of the Palace School, Asser, a monk of St. David's, or Menevia, in Wales, who subsequently became his biographer. Asser enjoyed a widespread reputation for learning and ability. It was only, however, after considerable delay and difficulty that the King prevailed

* *Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, c. 11
The Life of King Alfred the Great, Knight; *Annales Rerum Gestarum Aelfredi Magni*, Asser.

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upon him to spend six out of twelve months each year in England, superintending the Palatine and such other schools as were placed under his direction. For it is surmised, and with good reason, that his pedagogical work was not confined to the inmates of the palace, but that, like Alcuin, he travelled from place to place with his royal master, opening schools where at all feasible at the same time that he communicated to those with whom he came in contact, some of the zeal and interest in educational progress which filled his own ardent and devoted soul. In reward for his services he was created abbot of several monasteries, and finally raised to the bishopric of Sherburne, where he died in the year 910. Under such competent guidance Alfred made great progress in his studies, and was enabled gradually to perfect the work he had begun years before. Though we are told that at the age of twelve he could neither read nor write, by dint of persevering endeavor he soon became remarkable for his attainments in certain departments of learning, and one of the most celebrated men of his times.

Each day he devoted eight hours out of the twenty-four to prayer, study and composition. He applied himself espec-

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ially to philosophy, geometry, music and architecture. At the age of thirty-nine he took up Latin, which he mastered sufficiently to enable him to compose in it several works of no mean desert, as well as to translate others into the vernacular—amongst them being "*Liber Pastoralis Curæ*" by Gregory the Great; "*De Consolatione Philosophiæ*" by Boetius, and "*Historia Ecclesiastica*" by Venerable Bede, together with selections from the "*Soliloquies of Saint Augustine.*" His proficiency in the Saxon tongue, in which he wrote numerous poems, was also remarkable. Add to which the practical turn of his genius, which enabled him to bring to bear upon the material and intellectual advancement of his kingdom whatever knowledge he acquired. "In a word," says Edmund Burke, summing up his excellent qualities, "he comprehended in the greatness of his mind the whole of government and its parts at once, and, what is most difficult to human frailty, was at the same time sublime and minute."* A character of such diversified worth was well suited to become the chief instrument of educational reform at an epoch and in conditions sufficiently

* *Abridgment of English History*, Book II.

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dark and desperate. Like the humblest child he sat at the feet of Asser in the Palace School, and gave peremptory orders that all the officials in his kingdom should set the same example of diligence and love of self-improvement by applying themselves immediately and earnestly to the cultivation of learning. If loath to do so, they were to be dismissed from their offices forthwith. To facilitate the execution of his command, he enlisted the services of whatever learned men there were in Britain. These were none too numerous. He himself in a letter to Wulsige had deplored their lamentable scarcity.¹⁰ Nothing daunted, however, by the obstacles in his way, he sent abroad to solicit aid from other nations—not merely petitioning for scholars to conduct his schools, but even for monks to people his cloisters, the rude Saxon not having developed as yet any particular relish for that species of life. Not only Wales, as we have seen, but Flanders, Germany and France were put under contribution to supply the deficiency. Perhaps the two most prominent whom he succeeded in obtaining were John, surnamed “the Old Saxon,” who is thought to have received

¹⁰ See Appendix p. 59, note 10.

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his education at the monastery of Corby in Westphalia and Grimbald. Both were monks and priests. The former he put in charge of the monastic establishment at Ethelingey. He is sometimes confounded by historians with John Scotus Erigena, already referred to, and who was not only not abbot of Ethelingey, but most probably, as Dr. Lingard maintains, was never in England at all.* Grimbald, if certain accounts be credited, was given the direction of the educational institution at Oxford, whose origin would thus be traceable to the ninth, if not to an earlier century, with the honor which it so much craves of having Alfred for its founder. The more likely opinion, however, based upon sounder historical criticism, seems to be that all trace of Grimbald is lost, and his connection with Oxford is nothing more than a fiction woven of the fancies of certain romantic writers.¹¹ But how bright soever the halo with which a grateful posterity crowns Alfred's work as an educational reformer, it was comparatively scanty, and in all likelihood would have perished with him had

**Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, c. 11, Note 37. *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Nat. Alexander, vol. XII., c. 9, Art. III.

¹¹ See Appendix p. 59, note 11.

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not Providence raised up in the person of Dunstan, a saintly monk of Glastonbury, where the light of learning still flickered, one who could and did, upon his recall from exile by Edgar, take up the work and bring it to a perfection far beyond Alfred's capabilities. His name, coupled with those of Ethelwald, Oswald, Aelfric and Abbo, will ever be associated with an educational development not altogether barren of results in the history of English civilization. Advancing upon the lines marked out by Alfred, he enlarged his scope and infused into the undertaking a divine power—the gift of saints—which until then it had not known. The work of restoration was pushed diligently forward. Peterborough, Ely, Malmsbury and Thorney rose from their ruins, and no less than forty abbeys were built or restored under his celebrated primacy. Thus the tenth century, from A. D. 924 to A. D. 992, saw the beginning of an upward movement in Britain which was to continue with very little interruption until the multiplied misfortunes of the sixteenth century would pour, like a deluge, over the land.

The experiment made by Alfred to revive learning in England, in imitation of Charlemagne in France, found zealous

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emulators in Germany in the persons of the Othos, who ruled that country from A.D. 936 to A.D. 1024. Their efforts were as successful as, if not more so than, those in Britain, and form, together with the other two, the only points of relief in the dark ages we are traversing. The pursuit of letters had been steadily on the decline for five hundred years, and, Hallam to the contrary notwithstanding, the general verdict of historians is that it reached its lowest ebb towards the close of the tenth century, which has been not inappropriately styled an age of iron—"*sæculum infelix et obscurum.*"¹² The reason for this lamentable and unparalleled decadence was the destruction of churches and monasteries at the hands of barbaric Normans, Danes and Saracens whose depredations at this period vividly recalled the invasions of Goth and Visigoth in the fifth and sixth centuries as they swept over the face of Europe, leaving nothing but ruin and desolation in their track. Yet, dark and dismal as the period really was, if we scrutinize the situation closely we will not fail to see that it was not absolutely unproductive

* *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia Litteraria* Cave, p. 402.

¹² See Appendix p. 59, note 12.

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of schools and scholars. Both were to be met with at Utrecht, Einsiedeln, Treves, Hildesheim and in other cities. The same spirit of interest in studies which we have seen at the court of Charlemagne was visible in the populous centres of Germany, and especially within the royal household, where a well-conducted palace school was flourishing. It was fashioned upon the same lines as those presided over by Alcuin and Asser, and aimed at systematizing whatever educational endeavors were possible in an age so unfamiliar with the arts of peace and the institutions of civilized life.¹³ Saint Bruno, raised by popular acclaim to the archbishopric of Cologne, and Saint Adelbert to that of Magdeburg, stood out in bold relief as particularly zealous for the educational improvement of their country. Assisted by the unstinted patronage of the Othos and the generous co-operation of a people anxious to learn, the seed of their endeavors fell upon responsive soil and realized a creditable harvest. Injunctions were issued to the bishops ordering them to provide their dioceses with suitable schools. Scholars were brought, especially from Rome, to serve

¹³ See Appendix p. 60, note 13.

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as teachers, and thither students were sent to acquire whatever learning was to be obtained at the heart of Christendom, with the result that not a few, despite the difficulties of the situation, won a fair celebrity by their intellectual attainments. It were needless to recite a mere catalogue of names. Suffice it to say that the two most celebrated scholars who flourished during this epoch were doubtless Scotus Erigena and the monk Gerbert—solitary lights, so to speak, in a firmament grown almost pitchy dark.¹⁴

But the darkest hour, so the saw has it, is the one before dawn. Whether it be so or not ordinarily, in the present case it certainly was. The elements of a change had been long at work. The change itself was now imminent. Social, political and religious influences long smouldering were about to declare themselves. Their manifestation was to transform Europe, breathe life into the dry bones of the past, and give birth to a civilization whose shibboleth was to be educational reform. It is no easy matter, even for the philosopher of history, to trace to its certain causes the general revival which unmistakably sets in with

¹⁴ See Appendix p. 60, note 14.

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the eleventh century. The spirit of chivalry, the Crusades, the birth of commerce, the formation of European languages, the multiplication of religious orders, the secularization and specialization of learning, and the introduction into Europe from the East of a system of philosophy peculiarly adapted to stimulate mental exertion, are all advanced as having more or less influenced the turn in the tide so noticeable at this time. To speak of the principal. Chivalry, at once the effect and concomitant of feudalism, with its exalted regard for personal honor and womanly dignity, certainly did much to steady the jarring elements of the barbaric ages in which it flourished and lift men's thoughts and aspirations from the rude to the refined, from the actual to the possible, from the real to the ideal. The tales of scald and bard ; the songs of troubadour and minnesinger, woven upon the romance of love and rehearsed far and near in wooded bower or castle hall, were indeed a summons to something higher. They were an incentive to a social condition in which delicate fancy and noble sentiment, touchstones of mental refinement, were allowed full scope and activity. Allied to religion, the chivalric spirit did more. It purified and

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elevated while it supernaturalized the lives and hopes of men, affording them through the darkness from which they were emerging clearer glimpses of another order of life, moral in character, and founded upon the immutable principles of Christian beauty and truth. It was the dawn of a new civilization, broader and nobler than aught they had ever known, and the national as the individual heart throbbed in responsive unison with its invitation to higher and better things.

The Crusades, too, whatever objections may be alleged against them on other grounds, contributed largely to the revival of which we are speaking. Until the voice of Peter the Hermit sounded the call throughout Europe and rallied to a common cause so many nations differing in character and thoroughly antagonistic men's lives were comparatively insulated. There was little travel and almost no interchange of ideas. What knowledge there was stood, as it were, in stagnant pools awaiting some mystic touch to quicken it into marvelous life. For want of motion and friction it lacked the vigor which alone could insure its rapid and steady growth. Ireland, England and Germany had indeed made the world their debtors by sending their scholars hither

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and thither ; but the coming and going of a few only helped to emphasize the defect in the general situation. But with the uprising of multitudes the result was quite different. As army met army, as they moved in thousands from place to place, they awoke as from a dream, and what they heard and saw came to them with the force of a revelation. New ideas, new institutions, new scenes, new nations, new laws, new customs, new social and political systems, new libraries, new scholars, new educational facilities, the varied products of the arts and sciences and the fruits of every industry were all a most effectual stimulus. What they had seen and heard only made them the more eager upon returning home to see and hear more, while it formed the endless burden of romantic stories which excited others to set out in quest of similar information. The secularization of learning was also acting as a potent factor at this crisis. It is true, there had always existed what were known as "adventure" or private schools, whose professors eked out a livelihood shifting from place to place and teaching wherever the experiment seemed to pay. But they were conducted in a manner in harmony with the Christian ages in which they flourished. Now,

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however, a change was coming over their condition. Their number was increasing. The store of learning which they carried was growing every day more considerable while a spirit of mental unrest was fast developing in their midst. Practically divorced from religion, they wanted the safeguards which the monasteries had once supplied. A dangerous spirit of ambitious rivalry soon took possession of them which, while it had the advantage of opening up wider fields of research, was in not a few instances fraught with the still greater disadvantage of not knowing where to draw the line upon its investigations. In its wild chase after the elusive phantom of knowledge it often overlooked its higher obligations and contributed not a little to foster the sceptical spirit of the heresies which began to crop up at this time, and which, in their deification of reason, repudiated the supreme and inalienable claims of divine faith. But among the various forces at work we must not omit to mention the introduction into the West of the philosophy of the East with its disposition to inquiry and its endless metaphysical refinings. Europe was ripe for it. Heretofore education had moved in a beaten track. It had been traditional

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rather than discursive. It had contented itself with guarding and quoting the wisdom of antiquity without attempting to open up new vistas or cut new paths through the unexplored realms of the mind. Original research was almost unknown. Augustine and Gregory Thaumaturgus might be cited, but to venture a new treatise upon the nature and province of grace were a boldness akin to impiety. Such a state of affairs could not endure. Too many problems were pressing for solution and all that was needed to give it was a scientific method of investigation which, while it would throw the searchlight of the subtlest mental acumen into the darkest corners of the most abstruse subjects, could not fail to harmonize, in the rounded fullness of a universal accord, the natural with the supernatural, the human with the divine, the principles of revelation with the laws of perpetual progress. The birth of scholasticism, for such was the name which it assumed in Christian hands, marks a prominent point of departure in the intellectual history of Europe. The Aristotelian or Peripatetic philosophy had been imported from Greece and popularized by Arab commentators. Saracenic invasion introduced it into Europe by way of

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Spain, and it was not long ere it was caught up and assimilated into the life of the leading educational institutions of the West. Cleared of its Pagan dross, it was easily moulded into an effective instrument in the hands of saints and scholars, and made to serve the higher and holier purpose of an aid to the fuller illustration, by rational methods, of the truths of the gospel. It took speedy possession of the existing schools; infused new vitality into the studies of the *Trivium* and *Quadrivium*, imparting to them a life and a relish they had never known before. The quiet atmosphere of the class-room became alive with the fire of disputation. The fervor spread from institution to institution. Students thronged from everywhere to the various schools, until their number became so great as to necessitate an increase of lecturers and an organization sufficiently compact and effective to hold this eager and turbulent body in due control. The enthusiasm which had formerly marked the lectures of Gerbert and Scotus was now aroused by numerous professors who could drink of the same fountain of wisdom without crossing the threshold of their respective monasteries. Which of all these forces was the most operative it were impossible

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to say. While Paulsen emphasizes the Crusades and Professor Laurie the secularization of education, Cardinal Newman insists upon the Greek philosophy as the most effective and significant force then at work.

The age of the universities had not yet come. Still who can fail to see in the features which distinguish this transitional epoch the dawns of that activity which in the twelfth century would be thrown into definite shape and in the fifteenth would strike the zenith of its development for the weal of some and the woe of others? Professors and departments in the various schools were multiplied. Studies were organized. Superior schools were started in great numbers as supplementary aids in the shadow of great educational centres. A system of interdependence, co-ordinate and subordinate, was forming amongst the various institutions. Learning, as well as the methods adopted for its inculcation, was assuming a universal character which was gradually lifting education from the contracted and hampering environments of the past to the world-wide field it was destined to range after a few years. Who was the master spirit of the hour can only be surmised. The names of Anselm, Lan-

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franc, William de Champeaux, Abelard and others, pass in celebrated train before us in answer to the question. Laurie finds even in the rebellion of Berengarius and the rationalism of Scotus sufficient explanation of the great awakening as he conceives it. This much, however, we do know—that in the monastery of Le Bec, in Normandy, especially under the regencies of Lanfranc and Anselm, the new philosophy was chastened and wedded to theological truth in a way to establish its practical value when properly applied and thus was furnished with credentials which made it welcome wherever it went;* that it was in and about the School of Paris that the new life was manifesting itself most strikingly. Having passed through the various stages of a long development, that institution was now preparing more evidently and rapidly than ever, under the salutary influences of position and patronage, to assume at the end of the eleventh century the higher role of university, and thus merit for itself the distinction of having led off in the great transformation so near at hand. Incidentally, and while the scene is shifting, it is interesting to observe, as an unmistakable

* *The Life and Times of Saint Anselm.* Rule.

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sign of her zeal for educational progress, how the Church, as she had done her utmost to save the relics of ancient learning in the dark days of barbaric invasion, in the present emergency contributes her vast and varied influence towards lifting it on to the higher plane for which it was certainly making.¹⁵ She favored rational investigation—the application of philosophy to dogma—provided it were distinguished throughout by a humility and faith which could recognize and respect the claims of revelation as against the assumptions of a vain and unbridled reason. With her blessing and co-operation, with the favor of the State as well, with the combined energies of inspired multitudes the forces now set in motion were not to be stopped, but moved on powerfully to their appointed ends—to their far-reaching and lasting results. The night had passed. The day was slowly breaking.

¹⁵ See Appendix p. 60, note 15.



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1 "The custom," says Doctor Lingard, "of offering children to be devoted for life to the monastic or clerical profession, was early adopted in the Christian Church, in imitation of the oblation of the prophet Samuel in the temple of Jerusalem. The idea that the determination of his parents was no less binding on the child than the voluntary profession of adults was first embraced in the sixth century, and followed until the pontificate of Celestine III., who, according to the more ancient discipline, permitted the child at a certain age to decide for himself."—*Hist. and Antiq. of the Anglo-Saxon Church* p. 231, note 6.

"The fierce northern warriors," says Cardinal Newman, "who had won for themselves the lands of Christendom with their red hands, rejoiced to commit their innocent offspring to the custody of religion and peace. Nay, sometimes with the despotic will of which I have just now spoken, they dedicated them, from or before their birth, to the service of Heaven. They determined that some at least of their lawless race should be rescued from the contamination of blood and license, and should be set apart in sacred places to pray for the kindred. The little beings, of three or four or five years old, were brought in the arms of those who gave them life to accept at their bidding the course in which that life was to run. They were brought into the sanctuary, spoke by the mouth of their parents, as at the font, put out their tiny hand for the sacred corporal to be wrapped round it, received the cowl and took their places as monks in the monastic community. In the first ages of the Benedictine Order, these children were placed on a level with their older brethren. They took precedence according to the date of their admission, and the grey head gave way to them in choir and refectory, if junior to them in monastic standing. They even voted in the election of Abbot, being considered to speak by divine instinct, as the child who cried out, 'Ambrose is Bishop.' If they showed waywardness in community meetings, inattention at choir, ill-behavior at table, which certainly was not an impossible occurrence, they were corrected by the nods, the words, or the blows of the grave brother who happened to be next them; it was not till an after time that they had a prefect of their own, except in school hours. That harm came from this remarkable disci-

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pline is only the suggestion of our modern habits and ideas; that it was not expedient for all times, follows from the fact that at a certain date it ceased to be permitted. However, that in those centuries in which it was in force, its result was good is seen in the history of the heroic men whom it nurtured and might have been anticipated from the principle which it embodied." — *Historical Sketches*, vol. ii. art. "The Benedictine Schools."

2 Which rather conflicts with Mr. Emerson's amusing statement that Boniface, for a time carried on his missions in Germany on his own account, but finding that it would help his enterprise immensely, eventually allied himself with the Church of Rome. He says: "The famous Englishman Boniface, the Apostle to the Germans, had come over from England and entered upon the work of a missionary among the Frisians along the shores of the North Sea. From there he had gone over into the valleys of the Main and Danube, and had had remarkable success in founding churches and monasteries, which were to be so many centres of light in these still barbarous regions. For a time he had carried on this work on his own account, but soon he saw that if he could make himself the agent of Rome he would strengthen his cause very greatly. The papacy was the more ready to adopt him as its own, because there were already missionaries at work in these parts who had taught a form of Christianity different in many ways from that of Rome. These missionaries had come from the Keltic church which we saw established in the west of England and in parts of Scotland and Ireland at the time when Augustine had carried the Roman form to the Anglo-Saxons, and the conflict between them and Boniface was the same which went on there between Augustine and the ancient British church. The question in both cases was the same: Should Rome become the one centre of church life in the West, or should the life of the church, like that of the state, gather about several centres? Should there be national churches, or but one all-embracing Church, Catholic of which Rome should be the single and supreme head? In great parts of Germany, as in Great Britain, it had seemed as if a local, national church might grow up quite independent of Rome; but after the work of Boniface it

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was clear that the hold of Rome upon Germany was fixed forever." - (*An Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages* (375-814), by Ephraim Emerton, Ph.D., Professor of History in Harvard University. Boston: Ginn & Company, 1888 p. 131.)

3 "After the manner of a wise Solomon," says an ancient writer speaking of Gregory, "being touched by the sweetness of music he carefully compiled his *Centon*, or Antiphony of chants, and established a school of those chants which had hitherto been sung in the Roman Church, and built for this purpose two houses, one attached to the church of St. Peter the Apostle and the other near the Lateran Patriarchium. where, up to this day, are preserved with becoming veneration the couch whereon he was accustomed to rest when singing; and the rod where-with he was accustomed to threaten the boys, together with the authentic copy of his Antiphony." - *Christian Schools and Scholars*, Drane, p. 60.

4 "Rabanus Maurus was about the first to comment on the *Introduction* of Porphyry, and on portions of the *Organon*. In the year 935, whilst Reinard of S. Burchard, in Wurtemberg, commented on Aristotle's *Categories*, Poppo was elucidating, at Fulda, the *Commentary* of Boethius Notker Labeo, who died in 1022, translated into German the *Commentary* of Boethius, and the *Categories* and *Interpretation* of the Stagyrte. Abbo of Fleury (1004) wrote a clever and original work on the *Conclusions* and Adelberon, Bishop of Laon (1030), disciple of Gerbert, wrote a dissertation *De Modo recte Argumentandi et Prædicandi Dialecticam*. - St. Thomas of Aquin, Vaughan p. 188.

5 "During the sixth and seventh centuries the church of Ireland stood in the full beauty of its bloom. . . . The schools in the Irish Cloisters were at that time the most celebrated in all the West; and in addition to those which have been already mentioned, there flourished the schools of Saint Finian of Clonard, founded in 530, and those of Saint Cataldus, founded in 640. Whilst almost the whole of Europe was desolated by war, peaceful Ireland, free from the invasions of external foes, opened to the lovers of learn-

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ing and piety a welcome asylum. The strangers who visited Ireland not only from the neighboring shores of Britain, but also from the most remote nations of the continent, received from the Irish people the most hospitable reception, a gratuitous entertainment, free instruction, and even the books that were necessary for their studies."—*History of the Church*. Döllinger vol. II., p. 31.

6 *The Schools of Charles the Great*, J. Bass Mullinger, M.A., pp. 97-99; *Schools of Charlemagne*, Newman, *Edinburgh Review*, vol. 151; *Hist. Sket.*, vol. III.

7 According to some writers. Laurie says they met at Padua; Newman, at Pavia.

8 We refer particularly to the celebrated Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, whose achievements have been rightly said to constitute an era in the history of the English Church. For an account of his zeal in behalf of schools and letters, *vide Conversion of the Teutonic Race*, Hope, c. xi.; Newman, *loc. cit.*, 451; *Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, c. 11.

9 The Episcopal or Cathedral schools which had almost, if not entirely disappeared during the dreadful period of the barbaric invasions, had been gradually re-established whenever or wherever an altered condition of affairs allowed. Under the Merovingians, according to Ozanam, at least twenty could be enumerated in France alone. Charlemagne gave a new impulse to their revival and multiplication. It was in the Assembly of Aix-la-Chapelle and in the year 789 that bishops received their first command to open, in connection with their cathedrals, schools that were both public and free. Alluding to their general character at this time, West says: "The Episcopal or Cathedral schools were neither so strict nor so flourishing as the monastic schools whose exterior side they resembled, educating candidates for the priesthood and children of laymen generally. . . . Apart from the rigorous discipline of monastic life exacted from the *oblats*, there is, however, no essential distinction to be drawn between the instruction furnished in the monasteries and Cathedrals."—*Alcuin and the Rise of the Christian Schools*, p. 57.

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10 'Adeo funditus concidit,' he writes, "apud gentem Anglicanam (learning) ut paucissimi fuerint cis Humbrum, qui vel preces suas communes in sermone Anglico intelligere potuerunt vel scriptum aliquod a Latino in Anglicum transferre: tam sane pauci fuerunt, ut ne unum quidem recordari possim ex australi parte Thamesis, tum cum ego regnare coeperam." Pastoral of Gregory, *Introduction*.

11 "The connection of the University of Paris with the Palatine Schools of Charles the Great," says Rashdall, "rests only upon a series of arbitrary assumptions. The theory which traces the origin of Oxford to Alfred the Great aspires to a foundation in contemporary evidence. The Oxford myth was long accepted on the authority of a passage in the annals of Asser, Bishop of St. David's. The passage is found neither in any extant MS. nor in the earliest printed editions, but made its first appearance in Camden's *Britannia* in 1600 A.D.; whence three years afterwards it was transferred to the edition of Asser. The spuriousness of the passage, which is indeed sufficiently betrayed by its affected classicality of style, was demonstrated as long as 1843 in a dissertation appended to the English translation of Huber's *English Universities*. The myth recently received its *coup de grace* at the hands of Mr. James Parker (*The Early History of Oxford*, Oxf. Hist. Soc., 1885). . . . When the supposed authority of Asser is put out of court, the Alfredian legend even in its simplest and least elaborate form cannot be traced further back than the *Polychronicon* of Ralph Higden, who died in 1363. In fact the whole story with the vast cycle of legend of which it is the nucleus . . . may now be abandoned to students of comparative mythology and of the pathology of the human mind."—*The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, by Hastings Rashdall, vol. ii., part ii., p. 322, Oxford, Clarendon Press.

12 "En incipit," says Baronius, "annus Redemptoris nongentesimus, tertia indictione notatus, quo et novum inchoatur sæculum, quod sui asperitate ac boni sterilitate ferreum, malique exundantis deformitate plumbeum, atque inopia scriptorum appellari consuevit obscurum."—*Annales Ecclesiastici*, vol. x.

Bellarmino says of it, "nullum sæculo decimo indoctius."—*De Controversiis. de R. Pontif.* lib. iv., c. 12.

Appendix.

13 Hence to avoid repetition we can afford to be brief in its description. Possibly nothing contributed more generally to the realization of educational results than the hearty co operation of the episcopacy of which one historian writes: "In no age perhaps, did Germany possess more learned and virtuous churchmen of the episcopal order than in the latter half of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century."—Introduction to the *Literature of Europe*, Hallam, vol. i., p. 28.

14 As the eleventh century opened in the darkness of the tenth, so its close ushered in the dawn of an epoch ever memorable as a transition period in the history of Christian education. The forces which effected the tremendous change had been silently and imperceptibly at work for years, maybe for centuries, meanwhile held in abeyance by the deplorable social and moral condition of the times. With the advent of new and more favorable circumstances, however, they were free to declare themselves and did so with permanent and universal effect. Nowhere was their influence felt more lastingly than in the schools, both monastic and cathedral, which from this point on—from Anselm to Peter the Lombard—are scarcely recognizable as identical with their former selves. An altogether new spirit had taken possession of them. Their resources were being multiplied daily, while the whole trend of their steady development was in the direction of the universities into which they were to be eventually merged. Of their relation, *in transitu*, to the universities, and of the universities themselves—their organization and constitution—we hope to speak somewhat in detail later. For a summary account of the transition to which we allude, the reader is referred to *St. Thomas of Aquin*, Vaughan, pp. 76-77; *Rise and Constitution of Universities*, Laurie Lect. vi., pp. 96 et seq. For an elaborate treatment of the entire subject, vid. *History of the Universities of the Middle Ages before 1400*, Denifle; *The Universities of the Middle Ages*, Rashdall; *Idea of a University and Rise and Progress of Universities*, Newman (*Historical Sketches*, vol. iii).

15 For an enumeration of various councils convened by the Church in behalf of popular education, especially during the ninth century, cf. *The Bible in the Middle Ages*. Buckingham.

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


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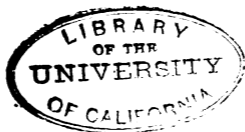


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INTRODUCTION.

ENCOURAGED by the cordial reception accorded the initial number of our PEDAGOGICAL TRUTH LIBRARY, "Christian Education in the Dark Ages," we venture to issue its successor from the same polished and eloquent pen. In small compass, without exaggeration, lucidly, forcibly and with erudition, Father Magevney sets forth the history and character of the marvelous system of education embodied in the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum*. We hope that it will go far to correct erroneous impressions gathered either from the maltreatment or imperfect treatment of the subject in popular pedagogical books. There is so widespread an interest in themes of this sort, and, consequently, so much need of a Catholic presentation of the history of Pedagogy, that the little book will be its own apology. Its graceful style, cultured diction and skilful array of facts will, we are sure, earn for it a warm welcome.

The Cathedral Library Association

November 8th, 1899.

The history of the Society of Jesus has been before the world for centuries, teeming with the eulogy of friends and the aspersion of foes. It is no present purpose of this sketch to take up either strain, but simply to describe in a few brief words some leading features of the teaching system of the Order. As an educational institution, the Society has occupied a prominent place at all times; exercised a wide range of influence upon the intellectual destiny of millions, and contributed in no small degree to the revival and steady advancement of Letters. (Its founder, Inigo de Loyola, was a chivalric Spanish Knight of the sixteenth century, who fell wounded by a cannon ball when fighting for his country in the breach at Pampeluna. The occurrence, apparently so casual, turned the whole tide of his thought and life into other and deeper channels. When recovered from the long confinement, incident upon his mishap, he resolved to figure no more in the ranks of Spain as a champion of her ancient glory, but to devote himself wholly to the enlargement of the realms of Christian civilization. But how was he to affect this? Such was

the question which he put to himself, and which he pondered long and diligently before he ventured upon an answer. At last it occurred to him that no means could be more efficacious than the widespread diffusion of knowledge through the instrumentality of education as sound as it was broad. The general condition of the times, if nothing else, would have led him to this conclusion. The Reformation had but lately dawned. Controversy was running riot. The man of mind was the man of the hour, and he felt that if he would prove successful as a defender of the Church and win his way deep into human conviction, mental equipment of a high and varied character was imperatively demanded. He would, therefore, organize a body of men, one of the leading purposes of whose institution would be to train the young. To invest that training with the proper thoroughness he would summon to his aid, as far as possible, none but men of multiplied and distinguished ability. With this end in view he sought the Paris University, the acknowledged literary centre of his day. His sojourn within its walls not only

gave him the amplest opportunity of acquiring for himself that large acquaintance with books which he felt to be needful, but also brought him in frequent contact with many of the keenest intellects of the period. From amongst them it was his wish to win sympathizers and recruits in his undertaking. Seven years came and went—years of preparation, years of organization; and when upon the expiration of that time, we behold him and his first ten companions grouped about the shrine in the crypt of Montmartre devoting themselves by vow to their cherished work, we are presented with the first chapter in the history of his realized hopes. The Society of Jesus was born, and another, an eventful page was beginning to be written in the annals of modern education.

Scarcely was the infant Society well established when plans were matured bearing upon the main purpose of its institution. The chief object, and one never lost sight of, was to supply the educational necessities of the times, to make up for the deficiencies of older methods and, as far as practicable, leave nothing undone for the construction of a perfect

system. As its numbers increased, colleges immediately sprang up in every quarter of Europe. Additions and emendations dictated by experience were made in the original scheme. Thus the process went on maturing, year after year, during the lifetime of the founder and long after he had passed away, until, under the generalship of Aquaviva, in 1581, it was deemed advisable to frame, once for all, a uniform method of teaching to be made binding upon the entire Order. This was done, and during the years that elapsed before the suppression of the Society in 1773, the learned world had abundant opportunity of gauging it and pronouncing upon its availability as a system. Nor do we hesitate to say, satisfied that we are in line with the facts of the case, that the verdict was preëminently in its favor. Protestants vied with Catholics in the praises which they lavished upon it, and in many cases went far beyond them. So much so, that it will always remain an anomaly, if not rather a providential arrangement, in the history of the Society of Jesus, that, when Catholic princes were clamoring for its annihilation, Catherine of Russia,

and Frederick of Prussia, for the educational advantages which it afforded the youth of their respective lands, flung around it the shield of their brave and generous protection. The circumstance was an odd one, and gave occasion to D'Alembert for one of his delicate, satiric thrusts. Writing to Frederick II, apropos of his refusal to join in the royal league against the Jesuits, he says: "It will be curious, Sire, if, while their very Christian, very Catholic, very Apostolic and very Faithful Majesties destroy the grenadiers of the Holy See, your very Heretical Majesty should alone maintain them." Nevertheless he did maintain them, and in a subsequent correspondence with the celebrated infidel, assured him that France would in due time reap the fruit of her folly in suppressing the Society, and that in the first years especially the education of youth would be sadly neglected.²

(1) Clement XIV et les Jésuites, p. 292.

(2) "I see in them (the Jesuits)," wrote Frederick II to D'Alembert, "only men of letters, whom it would be very difficult to replace for the education of youth. It is this important object which makes them necessary for me." *Oeuvres Philosophiques de D'Alembert*, Vol. XVIII.

"In time you will experience in France the effects of the destruction of this famous Society; and during the first years especially, the education of youth will suffer." *Ibid.* Crétineau Joly, Vol. V., p. 369.

Was it so? It would ill befit us to say.¹ But the overwhelming calamity of the French Revolution which, in the very next generation, broke with such incomparable fury over the face of all Europe, seemed to verify but too literally the awful truth of his prophetic utterance. Scarcely were these hated and hounded guardians of youth off the scene when the flood gates were opened, and with what dire consequences to the world no reader of history need be told. The first generation in France educated out of Jesuit schools was infidel and communistic to the core and aimed at the destruction of throne and altar alike. The spirit and policy of which Danton and Marat, Robespierre and Desmoulins were the fiendish impersonations, were the Dead Sea fruitage of all the hopeful promises that had been made by the Revolutionists on condition that the Society of Jesus were suppressed. Civilization was to have advanced with giant strides. Education was

(1) The historian, Dallas, a non-Catholic apologist for the Order, has no doubt of it. He sees in the Revolution and its distressful consequences the only result that could have been expected from the worse than pagan education which had been substituted for Jesuit training. cf. *The New Conspiracy against the Jesuits*, cc. III. IV.

to have been improved as never before. The moral atmosphere was to have been cleansed of the infectious taint with which three centuries of Jesuit intrigue and aggression had befouled it. But, instead, we find in the sequel that the expected millennium never dawned. That the attack had really been made not upon Jesuits alone or even primarily, but through them upon all religion and even upon the fundamental principles of natural right and truth. The social and moral fabrics were jarred to their foundations in the prostituted names of liberty and fraternity, and in support of an unhallowed progress which the Jesuits could well afford to be accused of having striven to impede. Chateaubriand, pondering the wreck and ruin visible in the wake of the receding storm, had every reason to bewail the deplorable condition of things around him and exclaim: "Europe has suffered an irreparable loss in the Jesuits. Education has never since held up her head."¹ And when at the beginning of the present century, iniquity had run its course and a rift was made in the dark cloud

(1) *Génie du Christianisme*. Tom. VIII., p. 199.

overhead, it was not surprising that the nations, particularly those in which the attack upon the Order had been most violent and which, as a consequence, had suffered most, called loudly for its speedy resuscitation. Spain, Portugal and France, Naples and Parma were instant in their demands for its revival. No sooner was it risen from the tomb and Jesuits were once more allowed to resume their wonted avocation as teachers, than a pæan of exultation rang out where but yesterday the strains of a requiem had been heard. Was it surprising? Not at all! It was nothing more than the logic of events working itself out to a foregone conclusion.)

As a natural result of its popularity the educational system of the Jesuits, from the very start, met with acceptance far and wide. (Already, within the lifetime of its founder, the Order had set up colleges in France, Spain, Italy and Portugal; while its progress through the German States was a veritable triumphant march. In 1551 the members of the Order had scarcely secured a foothold in Germany, and yet in 1556 their colleges were to be met with scattered throughout Swabia, Fran-



conia, Austria, the Rhine Provinces, Bavaria and Bohemia. They conquered us, says Ranke, upon our own ground, in our own homes.) After the death of Ignatius we find his followers not only over-running Europe, but plying every sea in quest of distant shores upon which to cast the seed of knowledge. In China and Japan, in America, India and Oceanica; at the very extremities of the habitable globe we meet with them, and in every case they are teachers. Where circumstances were favorable they operated their system in all its detailed fullness by the erection of colleges and universities; otherwise, as much of it as the situation would allow. But whether called into requisition entirely or in part; in the intellectual centres of Europe or the tangled wilds of some remote, primeval forest; whether to unravel the mysteries of science upon the Chairs of renowned universities, or impart the first elements of doctrine to naked savages, it had features distinctly its own and addressed itself to millions of minds. (Lord Macaulay, whose predilection for Jesuits was

(1) History of the Papacy, Vol. I. B. V. § 3. Foster's Translation.

certainly not his capital fault, bears a luminous testimony to the truth of this statement in one of his numerous eloquent dashes. "Before the Order had existed a hundred years," he observes, "it had filled the whole world with memorials of great things done and suffered for the faith.) * * * * There ^{was} no region of the globe, no walk of speculation or of active life, in which the Jesuits were not to be found. They ^{have} guided the counsels of kings. They ^{have} deciphered Latin inscriptions. They ^{have} observed the motions of Jupiter's satellites. They ^{have} published whole libraries, controversy, casuistry, history, treatises on Optics, Alcaic Odes, editions of the Fathers, madrigals, catechisms and lampoons. The liberal education of youth ^{was} passed almost entirely into their hands, and ^{was} conducted by them with conspicuous ability. They appear to have discovered the exact point to which intellectual culture can be carried without risk of intellectual emancipation. Enmity itself was compelled to own that in the art of managing and framing the tender mind they had no equals."¹ (Sir James Mackintosh, by

(1) History of England. Vol. II. c. 6.

no means partial to Jesuits, delivers himself in a kindred strain. "They (the Jesuits) cultivated polite literature with splendid success; they were the earliest, and, perhaps, the most extensive reformers of European education, which, in their schools made a larger stride than it has at any succeeding moment.; and by the just reputation of their learning, as well as by the weapons with which it armed them, they were enabled to carry on a vigorous contest against the most learned impugners of the authority of the Church. * * * The most famous constitutionalists, the most skillful casuists, the ablest schoolmasters, the most celebrated professors, the best teachers of the humblest mechanical arts, the missionaries who could most bravely encounter martyrdom, or who with most patient skill could infuse the rudiments of religion into the minds of ignorant tribes or prejudiced nations, were the growth of their fertile schools." (1) Our own historian, Bancroft, is not less generous in the praise which he bestows upon them as educators. "Their cloisters, he

(1) Historical View of the Reign of James II. c. 8. *in fine.*

writes, became the best schools in the world.'¹ A popularity so widespread and to which so many eminent writers, not a few of them otherwise averse to the Society, have borne a willing and noble testimony, could not have been the result of mere chance or caprice. It stands to reason that it must have been founded upon causes inherent in the system itself. Men of the giant calibre of Bacon, Leibnitz and Grotius, not to mention others of equal note, would never have set upon Jesuit educational methods the seal of their profound approbation, had they not discovered in them, from a close scrutiny of their practical as well as theoretical worth, undeniable claims to admiration and praise.² What then, it may be asked,

(1) History of the United States, Vol III. c. 20. First Edition. The entire passage, which is a lengthy one, is interesting, but its citation in full would lead us too far afield for the matter in hand.

(2) Bacon's estimate of Jesuit Schools is well known. "As regards teaching," he says, "this is the sum of all direction—take example by the schools of the Jesuits, for better do not exist. When I look at the diligence and activity of the Jesuits, both in imparting knowledge and moulding the heart, I think of the exclamation of Agesilaus concerning Pharnabazus, 'Since thou art so noble I would thou wert on our side.'" De Dign. et Augm. Scient. Lib. I. *ad init.*

"J'ai toujours pensé," writes Leibnitz, "qu'on reformerait le genre humain, si l'on réformerait l'éducation de la jeunesse. On ne pourra facilement venir à bout de ce dernier point qu'avec le concours de personnes qui, à la bonne volonté et aux connaissances, joignent

were those claims? How far and in what respect, if at all, was the Jesuit system an advance upon all previous methods? By what warrant is the assertion made that they were "the earliest and, perhaps, the most extensive reformers of European education, which, in their schools made a larger stride than it has at any succeeding moment?" What was its permanent contribution to the fund of pedagogical science, then in its infancy, and now in the full blush of its noon-tide development? Had it any new features to impart, or was it merely a rehabilitation of old forms caught up and glorified far beyond their actual deserts? Let us see.)

I. The boast of the nineteenth century is that it has put education within easy reach of the masses by making it *free*. The circumstance has become a theme of reiterated song as well it may, while pedagogues and politicians never tire ring-

encore l'autorité. Les Jésuites pouvaient faire de choses étonnantes, surtout quand je considère que l'éducation des jeunes gens fait en partie l'objet de leur institut religieux. Mais, à en juger par ce que nous voyons aujourd'hui, le succès n'a pas pleinement répondu à l'attente, et je suis bien éloigné de penser sur ce point comme Bacon, qui lorsqu'il s'agit d'une meilleure éducation, se contente de renvoyer aux écoles des Jésuites." Oeuvres de Leibnitz, Tom. 6, p. 65. cf. etiam Grotius, Hist. B. 3. p. 273.

ing the everlasting changes upon it as "the bulwark of American Liberties" and "the palladium of national existence." No blame to them either. Knowledge is power, and to put it within reach of all, the more effectually to enable them to surmount the difficulties of their state and reap some at least of the intelligent benefits of life, is an achievement of which any man or age can well afford to be proud. Mistakes may indeed be made in its application, but the principle itself of free education is sound and unquestionable. Yet glorious as is the idea, far reaching and all embracing as it is bound to be in its ultimate consequences, it is by no means a thing of latter day invention as is too often erroneously supposed. Already in the eighth century and prior to it we find the Councils of the Church enjoining upon bishops and priests the paramount necessity of establishing within the towns and villages under their jurisdiction schools for the *gratuitous* instruction of youth.¹ Who has not heard of the claustral

(1) "The first command the bishops had, to establish at their cathedrals public schools, where scholars should be taught gratis, was in the Assembly of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 789. It was renewed by the Third

schools of early medieval times and the cathedral and seminary schools of later date? What reader of history is not as familiar with the names of Fulda, Cluny and Le Bec as with those of Oxford, Cambridge and Harvard in our own day? Of how much disinterested zeal in the cause of learning are we not reminded by the memories which they conjure up? Yet these schools and a host of others of equal grade and celebrity were free. Multitudes flocked to them, and under the supervision of bishop and monk, men of the ripe and royal stamp of Alcuin, Lanfranc and Anselm, knowledge could be had by the young for the mere asking. True, that knowledge may have been, and, in the light of modern discovery, *was* comparatively elementary. It was not systematized and lacked breadth and definiteness. But for all that it was the best the times

Council of Lateran in 1179." Vaughn's Life of Aquinas, p. 77. *Note.*

"Schools for the gratuitous instruction of poor children can be traced back," says Barnard, "to the early days of the Christian Church. Wherever a missionary station was set up, or a bishop's residence or seat was fixed, there gradually grew up a large ecclesiastical establishment, in which were concentrated the means of hospitality for all the clergy, and all the humanizing influences of learning and religion for the diocese or district." Encyclopedia of Education. Kiddle. Article: Public Schools.

afforded and enjoyed the rare privilege of being within everybody's reach. Venerable Bede himself assures us that in some quarters so great was the zeal for the diffusion of learning that the students were not only provided with instruction without charge, but were even supplied, during their stay in the monasteries, with food and books *gratis*. Had this liberal spirit survived the vicissitudes of subsequent years, had the practice of free education, begun so early and pursued with such notable success for so many generations, remained in vogue, there would, in all probability, have been no call for the introduction of the Jesuit system into the world. But such was not the case. With the rise and rapid multiplication of the universities minor educational institutions, claustral, cathedral or otherwise, were gradually overshadowed and disappeared, absorbed into a broader and more pregnant condition of affairs. Learned centres like Paris, Bologna, Salamanca and Padua, henceforth became the intellectual magnets toward which young and old, in quest of knowledge, naturally and necessarily gravitated. Even the monks

themselves, wrought upon by the spirit of the hour, left their cloisters for a spell and trooped after their disciples to seek in the shadow of the new institutions that broader and broadening culture which was nowhere else to be acquired, and in which they recognized the harbinger of a coming dawn. From the twelfth to the sixteenth century was emphatically a transitional period, characterized as a consequence by the peculiarities ever incident upon change and revolution. It had its commendable features, of course, and its bad qualities ; its advantages and its disadvantages. Intellectual facilities were vastly improved, but at the same time education ceased to be free as it had been in the claustral and cathedral schools where no teachers had to be paid, nor expensive manuscripts to be purchased. The moral atmosphere, moreover, lost much and eventually all of that healthful purity which had distinguished it in the less pretentious educational institutions of generations previous. When Ignatius came upon the scene in the sixteenth century and found himself mingled with the turbulent and eager throng of thou-

sands surging in and out of the halls of the Paris University, such was the situation by which he was confronted. A close student of the philosophy of life, as written between the lines of human circumstance, he was not slow in detecting the essential flaws in the educational system as he saw it in active operation before him. It suggested a problem which he felt called upon to solve—a condition of things which he would strive to remedy at any and every cost. After long deliberation, his plan of reform resolved itself into an educational scheme which, while competent to supply the intellectual outfit of a university curriculum, would not fail to supplement it by what he deemed to be two all-important requisities. These were, first : to render education free, and next, to safeguard it from the moral contamination to which medieval university life was so wantonly exposed. For the purpose of accomplishing the former of these two designs he assembled around him a body of co-laborers. A society of educators was organized. They pledged themselves to give education *gratis*. Once sufficient foundations, made by an original grant

from municipality or wealthy personage, had been provided for the maintenance of their colleges and their own individual support, nothing was asked or accepted from the students by way of tuition. "No obligations or conditions," wrote Ignatius in his Constitutions, "are to be admitted that would impair the integrity of our principle, which is: To give gratuitously what we have received *gratis*."¹ This object was all the more readily attainable as they were vowed to poverty which reduced their personal necessities to a minimum and enabled them to operate their institutions upon a comparatively economic basis. How economically, is evinced by more than one well authenticated fact in their history. As might have been expected this revival of free education was welcomed in some quarters, and violently assailed in others. The people at large hailed it as a forward movement and a relief. Hitherto debarred, for want of means, from all participation in the advantages of a university course, the humblest now saw a way opened to them in another direction leading up to the same if

(1) Constit. Soc. Jesu, pars IV. c. VII. No. 3.

not greater results, and all for less than the price of a song. As a consequence, we find them crowding the schools of the Jesuits wherever and whenever opened. In such numbers in fact did they come that we can but marvel, as every historian has marvelled, at the phenomenal rapidity with which the schools of the Order multiplied. On the other hand wealthy patrons, recognizing the disinterestedness with which the new teachers gave themselves to their chosen work, and the comprehensive and beneficial nature of the work itself, were not slow in coming forward with numerous and munificent endowments. So much so, that in 1750, somewhat over two centuries from its foundation, the Order possessed 769 educational institutions, of which 157 were Normal Schools for the education and training of future professors, and the rest Colleges and Universities.¹ The number of students attendant upon Jesuit instruction varied, of course, with the cir-

(1) "In 1550 the first Jesuit school was opened in Germany. In 1700 the Order possessed 612 Colleges, 157 Normal Schools, 59 Novitiates, 340 residences, 200 missions, 29 professed homes, and 24 universities. The College of Clermont had 3000 students in 1695." *Encycl. Brittan. (new) p. 589. Art. Education. Vol. VII.*

cumstances of time and place. Allowing, however, for an average attendance of 300 in each college, which is putting it exceedingly low in the majority of cases and exaggerating it in none, we have in 1710, for instance, "a sum total of more than 200,000 students in the collegiate and university grades, all being formed, at a given date, under one system of studies and government, intellectual and moral." Quite a creditable showing, truly, when we bear in mind the age of the Society and the tremendous antagonism developed in certain quarters against it, which vainly sought to defeat its purpose and cripple its progress at every turn. The people rejoiced. Not so the universities. They looked askance upon the new departure and were sorely grieved at the increasing popularity and prosperity of the obnoxious new-comers.² Their intru-

(1) *Loyola and the Educational System of the Jesuits.* By Rev. Thomas Hughes, S.J. Scribner's, 1892, p. 74.

cf. *etiam Ratio Studiorum et Institutiones Scholasticæ Societatis Jesu.* By G. M. Pachtler, S.J. 3 vols. Berlin. A. Hoffman & Co. *passim*,

(2) "À peine la Compagnie de Jésus," says d'Alembert, "commençait-elle à se montrer en France, qu'elle essaya des difficultés sans nombre pour s'y établir. Les Universités surtout firent les plus grands efforts pour écarter ces nouveaux venus. Les Jésuites s'annonçaient pour enseigner gratuite

sion meant, so it was apprehended, for many a professor in said institutions fewer pupils and smaller perquisites in future. They felt that they now had rivals in the field with whom they would have to shiver many a lance in the lists if they would not be outstripped in general esteem and possibly be deprived of the Chairs they occupied. This spirit of estrangement, which so soon degenerated into open hostility on the part of the universities, met the Society at its very inception and dogged it bitterly throughout its chequered and memorable career ; until, at last, it was afforded the grim satisfaction of mingling its *crucifige* in dismal concert with those of the Jansenists and infidels of the eighteenth century, when they demanded so vociferously, and obtained the temporary overthrow of the Order. The Jesuits gave education, higher and secondary, to all *free* ; and this, we take it,

ment; ils comptaient déjà parmi eux des hommes savants et célèbres, supérieurs peut-être à ceux dont les universités pouvaient se glorifier; l'intérêt et la vanité pouvaient donc suffire à leurs adversaires pour chercher de les exclure. On se rappelle les contradictions semblables que les ordres mendiants essayèrent de ces mêmes universités quand ils voulurent s'y introduire; contradictions fondées à peu près sur les mêmes motifs." Destruction des Jésuites en France, p. 19.

was the first provision in the new system which made it popular. In this assertion we are supported by various authorities of note, Catholic and non-Catholic. To cite two of the latter. Apropos of the point, Leopold Ranke writes: "Whenever a prince or a city had founded one of their colleges, no person needed further to incur expense for the education of his children. They were expressly forbidden to ask or accept remuneration or reward. As were their sermons and Masses, so were their instructions altogether gratuitous. * * * * As men are constituted, this of itself must have aided to make the Jesuits popular, the more so as they taught with great ability and equal zeal."¹ An opinion with which Hallam is perfectly in accord. He says: "They taught gratuitously, which threw, however unreasonably, a sort of discredit upon salaried professors; it was found that boys learned more from them in six months than in two years under other masters; and probably for both these reasons, even Protestants sometimes withdrew their children from the or-

(1) History of the Papacy. Vol. I. B. V. § 3.

dinary gymnasia and placed them in Jesuit Colleges.”¹

II. We have mentioned *Normal Schools*. In the facilities which they afforded and the recuperative strength which they implied, we recognize another cause for the popularity of the Jesuit Schools as also a partial explanation of the “great ability” with which as Ranke affirms they were conducted. As every reader of Jesuit history knows, one of the first provisions made by Ignatius—a provision that was enlarged upon and perfected in later years—was for the thorough education of the members of his Order ~~with a view to the lecture hall or class-room~~. It was a principal object of solicitude with him at all times. They were to be educators. Such was their profession. They should therefore be abundantly fitted out by varied intellectual equipment for the discharge of academic duties in any and every field of pedagogical exercise to which they might afterwards be assigned. He well knew that the development of youthful character, the reputation of his institutions, and their success

(1) Introduction to the Literature of Europe. Vol. I, p. 256.

or failure at the last depended in the main, if not wholly, upon the antecedent qualifications of the masters in charge. In harmony with this idea the second General Assembly, held nine years after his death, laid it down as an all-important requirement that in every Province of the Order, where feasible, schools for the exclusive education of the younger members of the Society should be erected. In them, as far as means and other circumstances would allow, every accommodation was to be afforded for complete literary and scientific development; and only when that development had been attained and proven by a series of searching examinations was the Jesuit aspirant to attempt to introduce others to the charms of literature or lead them through the intricacies of abstruse speculations. The provisions were still ampler. There were embodied in the Constitution as part of its elaborate framework, detailed regulations both as regards the education of the members themselves, and also the manner in which they were to impart their knowledge to others. In the educational *scheme* of the Order, or *Ratio Studiorum*, as it is usu-

ally called, the entire training process is fully and distinctly mapped out. It may not prove uninteresting as it certainly will not be irrelevant, to enumerate a few of its salient features. Limiting our inquiry at present to intellectual cultivation, it is needless to say that preparation for the class-room involves two things—a thorough knowledge of the matter to be communicated, with ease and dexterity in the art of its presentation. Accordingly, we find in the system every provision made for the attainment of these two objects.

As regards the studies to be undertaken by the future professor, we may consider them divided into what, for convenience sake, we may designate as lower and higher, *inferiora et superiora*. A. The former embrace a thorough study of Grammar, Humanities and Rhetoric covering a period of two and, if need be, three years. The languages cultivated are the Latin, Greek and vernacular, and they are to be pursued not cursorily, not narrowly, but with all the zest and breadth expected of men destined to become professional adepts. There were a num-

ber of reasons for the paramount value which Ignatius and his early associates set upon classical learning, and the zeal with which they desired it to be cultivated by all their followers. They lived in a classical age. Latin was the vehicle of scientific thought the world over. Success, therefore, in any department or direction presupposed acquaintance with it. Besides, it was the language of the Church. Her ritual and theology, the decrees of her Councils, her every official utterance, the incomparable writings of so many of her Doctors and Fathers were couched in it, and must forever remain buried treasures to any one unfamiliar with its secrets. Both it and the Greek had been developed for centuries far beyond any other, and were, by consequence, distinguished by a philological exactness and flexibility of structure to which no other language could lay equal claim. Add to all this the permanent advantages to be derived from the diligent conning of works, Latin or Greek, which represent the bloom and blossom of literary excellence, and hold in rich deposit, unto all times, whatever is loftiest and most

desirable in human thought. Proficiency in the vernacular was in like manner to be sought after. They believed that apples of gold should be served upon plates of silver, and that it defeats, partially, if not altogether, the efficacy of ideas to trick them out in the homespun toggery of every-day parlance. Perhaps it was a failing of their time, as it is of ours, with some, to amass knowledge the while they neglect the all-important medium of its communication. The results are disastrous. Thoughts otherwise prolific and operative are thus hampered by the language in which they are clad—language far more suggestive of “English as She is spoke” than of the Addisonian purity of the Elizabethan age. B. The *latter*, or *superiora*, embrace a full course of Philosophy, Theology, Physical Science, and Mathematics. Whatever cognate studies are found available for the complete elucidation of the main branches are likewise put under contribution. Scripture, Canon Law, Hebrew, Oriental Languages, and Ecclesiastical History enter as integral parts into the theological curriculum, as Geology, Astronomy, Chemistry and Mechanics do into the

philosophical. Seven years, with four hours of lecture a day, are allowed for this course which may be and is, at times, extended to nine or ten in behalf of those whose intellectual qualifications would seem to warrant their being given advanced facilities for improvement. Each year closes with an examination upon the matter traversed, its length and stringency increasing as the student advances. By way of finish to the entire proceeding a thorough examination covering the field of seven years is required. The candidate's future grade in the Order as well as his general availability for the pedagogical work of the Society are to be determined by the greater or less success with which he runs this gauntlet through seven years of stress and difficulty. The preparatory life of the young Jesuit is therefore briefly told. From the moment of his entrance the current of his thoughts and energies and aspirations is made to set in the direction of the class-room where he is one day to dispense the fruits of his present garnering. He is required before admission to have finished at least his *Rhetoric* or what is known as

Junior Class in our modern undergraduate courses. His literary studies in the Order are consequently something of a repetition, but not altogether so. He now attacks his classics like a man, with a definite aim in life, and with capacities sufficiently enlarged to enable him to compass the depth and breadth of subjects with a penetration and fullness of which he was incapable as a mere youth. The cultivation of style in the three languages; the gauging of authors to be read, memorized and estimated; the manner of analysing and imitating them skillfully—these are the constant objects of his striving during this period of literary formation. Aided by maturing years and the hourly supervision and direction of experienced Masters in literature, and building up upon a closely knit system, his literary instincts and appreciations are elevated and widened, his tastes multiplied, his judgments strengthened, the channel of his thoughts deepened, and it only remains to systematize his ideas by giving them a scientific trend and basis. For this purpose, after graduation in *Letters* and before he enters upon his *Re-*

gency or Professorship, he is put to his philosophy. During the three years devoted to it, he covers the entire field of mental and moral Philosophy. Physics, Chemistry and Mathematics, with Astronomy and Geology enter as intercalary branches. Except in the case of Natural Sciences, the lectures, repetitions and text-books are all in the Latin language. The peculiar genius of the Latin, coupled with its uncommon fertility and pliability, renders it a most effective instrument with which to bandy metaphysical niceties. The System of philosophy adhered to, though all are closely scrutinized, is the *Scholastic System*; which means, of course, Aristotle as a basis, purged of his pagan dross in the alembic of Christian interpretation. Collateral branches are not treated as isolated studies. All knowledge is kin, and it is deemed of vital importance never to overlook the fact. Hence the ramifications and interlacings of thought, be they ever so countless and delicate, are assiduously traced and pointed out. Where Metaphysics trench upon Natural Science, or vice versa, due regard is paid to the claims of each, and the law of subor-

dination is promptly asserted and vindicated. Naturally enough ; for how diverse soever its manifestations, truth, in its last analysis, is essentially one and self-consistent, and the concrete fact, rightly interpreted, can never be found at variance with the abstract principle. This is a cardinal tenet of the method—a method all the more valuable in an age which taboos the philosophy of the Schoolmen as a tangled web of medieval extravagances long since swept away by the irresistible force of inductive processes of which it is really the substructure and prop. During these years consecrated to science, literary pursuits are interrupted but not wholly neglected. Latin and the vernacular, of course, come in for a large share of daily attention, while an occasional dip of at least one hour every week into Hesiod or Homer, the translation of an ode of Anacreon or a chorus from Euripides amply suffices to keep the student's appetite for Greek amenities always keenly whetted.

Philosophy ended, his term of *Regency* in one of the numerous Colleges of the Order begins. It lasts for five years. Not having com-

pleted his *Studia Superiora*, his teaching during this time is confined to the lower forms. Theory is now reduced to practice. Our quondam pupil becomes a Master. Beginning at the lowest rung of the ladder, he ascends with his scholars from class to class; and, as he does so, grounds himself still further in his art by constant application to the matter in hand—supplementing the strictly pedagogical portion of his work, as he is required to do, by a liberal course of private reading suitable to his avocation and upon the lines of previous study. *Discimus docendo*. At the age of twenty-nine or thirty we meet him again, resuming his higher studies, no longer with a view of teaching merely grammar and belles-lettres, but in order to qualify himself to fill with eminence a chair of Scripture, Theology or other science in a university curriculum. Four and perhaps six years are expended upon this portion of his task. As in philosophy, so now upon a higher plane and in another atmosphere the problems of life are to be sifted; the numberless controversies that strew the pages of dogmatic and Patristic theology are to be faced,

and, without a doubt, the vexed questions with which his exegetical studies in particular are rife make constant and heavy demands upon his time and talent. That time and talent, however, are willingly devoted. When his Course is at last finished, he enters for a searching examination in what may be called the work of a lifetime. Success entitles him to the Doctorate, though no degrees are worn by members of the Society. He returns to the Colleges and for the rest of his days holds himself in readiness for the discharge of any pedagogical work, high or low, which may chance to be imposed upon him. Throughout there is nothing eclectic. All is of the strictest obligation, and, saving unavoidable exceptions, every member is put through the same mill.

(To heap up knowledge is one thing; to understand how to communicate it to others in a school-room is a widely different affair, though equally to be cared for in any Normal System worthy of the name. It has not been forgotten in the Jesuit method. On the contrary, it has been provided for variously. In one sense it may be said that a young

Jesuit's entire course of studies is an uninterrupted lesson in the art of teaching. The branches which he studies are the same he will have to expound to the world. He sees in every day's lecture how the subject is to be handled. Its treatment by his professor is full of suggestiveness to him of the manner in which he himself will be expected to deal with it later on.) Let us illustrate this by an example from the department of literature. An oration of Cicero, we may suppose, or an extract from Herodotus is up for consideration. Conformably with the requirements of the *Ratio*, the professor must not quit the subject until he has analyzed it thoroughly and satisfied himself that his pupils have grasped his analysis in all its length and breadth. To insure this result the more effectually, they are required to jot down for future reference whatever is of special value or most apt to slip their memories. Every *word* of importance is examined separately. Its derivation, composition, shade of meaning in different connections, present grammatical bearings and whole influence upon the sentence, perhaps upon the entire speech or chapter,

are diligently canvassed and explained. Each *sentence* is closely scrutinized. Its classification, parts, syntactical structure, regular and irregular features, its strength or weakness, cohesiveness or looseness in the context, with a running commentary upon its value as a bit of style are all given, to be afterwards studied, repeated, and committed to writing if need be. The *rhetorical character* of the subject is then passed in review. Its excellences and defects are shown. In what it is deserving of imitation and how one is to proceed in an attempt to imitate it are minutely detailed. Finally, whatever pertains to *erudition* is discussed at length. Mythological, biographical, historical and geographical references are noted and explained. A sketch of the life and character of the author with an account of the part played by the work itself in the march of literary development are furnished. Its worth as compared or contrasted with other productions of the same author or with the works of other writers in the same field is dwelt upon. This analytical study of the subject made by the professor in the presence of his pupils

and carefully observed by them, marks distinctly the lines upon which they are, later on, to develop subjects for themselves, as well as the manner in which they are to present them to their own scholars. Besides, there is nothing disorderly or changeful in the analysis itself. The method is one and the work of each succeeding day is uniform with that of the preceding, so that the pupil *nolens volens* is bound, by dint of sheer repetition if not otherwise, eventually to apprehend the process and make it his own in practice. With such a plan as this pursued in the study of Latin, Greek and the vernacular, and that every day and all day, the young Jesuit is forced into an atmosphere of pedagogical experience, and develops into a pedagogue almost without knowing it—so practical, so systematic, so continuous, so well constructed with reference to the end at which it aims is the educational system upon which he is brought up.

(Nor is this all. Entrusted to the guidance of professional teachers and studying to become a teacher himself, his preceptors were recreant to their duty, did they not avail themselves of every opportunity to give his

studies their intended bearing, and to imbue him with all the principles needful for self-guidance in after years. Accordingly, no occasion is lost of pointing out to him, now at length, again incidentally, how he is to open up a subject ; how he is to impart an idea ; what process must be followed in its evolution to make it the more seizable by others ; what illustrations may be adduced to throw light into its dark corners ; how serviceable it may become as an element in the formation of mind and heart and character when properly understood ; what are its resources, theoretical or practical, when probed to its bottom ; what books it would be well to suggest to students afterwards with a view to its complete development and the acquisition of that erudition upon the subject necessary for intellectual prominence. Every occasion is utilized to remind him not only of the importance but also of the sacredness and eternal responsibility of his vocation as a teacher, of the manner in which he should comport himself, and of the zeal and skill he is to exercise in manipulating the delicate susceptibilities of youth in order to the for-

mation of perfect manhood. To insure results yet more and give unmistakable evidence of the same, it has been ordained that those about to begin their *Regency* should, for three or four months before they enter the class-room, be taken in charge privately by some experienced master and thoroughly drilled. Assuming the role of teacher by anticipation, they are to interrogate, explain, correct and dictate, while their critical elders ply them with questions and difficulties and resort to countless means of testing their pedagogical metal. The exercise is to be a daily one and continued for not less than an hour. As is evident, its object is to bring to light in due season not only the student's good qualities as a teacher, but likewise his defects so that they may be eliminated in time and not be intruded upon the school-room to the detriment of scholars and professors alike. Further measures of security are shown in the rules laid down for the General Supervisor of studies or Head Master in each college. Possessed of a wider range or acquaintance with matters collegiate, he is instructed to bring his knowledge and experience to bear

upon the formation and proper direction of every member of his Faculty. Allowing for originality and individual traits, which he is always to do, he is, nevertheless, to see that the prescriptions of the *Ratio* are strictly carried out; that uniformity of method be observed; that nothing foreign be admitted that could disintegrate the System or render it in the least abortive; that every teacher is at his post and does his duty, not as an independent unit but as part of a concordant whole. To be certain that the Masters have understood and are observing the rules laid down for them, he is to visit their class-rooms frequently, hear them teach, question the pupils in person, note their progress, and afterwards furnish such help and give such advice to the teacher as he may deem called for by the exigencies of the case. His counsel is to be heeded by the young professor. So important, in fact, is tractability considered in the matter, that persistent unwillingness to obey and be guided would expose the offender to permanent forfeiture of position. In a Normal System so elaborate in point of fact, but whose dimmest outlines only we have been

able to trace, we recognize the source of two great advantages accruing to the Jesuit method. First of all, it ~~X~~awakened public confidence. Parents were satisfied that their children were not being practiced upon by incompetent tyros, but were being brought up at the hands of trained adepts. Besides, it was an invaluable element of strength resident in the Society itself, and bespoke a recuperative and recruiting power which could not but insure a healthful and permanent educational growth. It was the mainspring of vitality within and the most certain guarantee of efficiency without. "As all the members were thus trained as practical teachers, the Order was, soon after its foundation, enabled, wherever a favorable opportunity offered, to call into existence an astonishing number of literary institutions."¹

III. A consideration of the Normal Schools in vogue in the Society naturally introduces us to an examination of the *System* itself upon which the colleges were operated. To it, in the third place, we believe much of the Order's prosperity was

(1) Encyclopedia of Education. Kiddle. P. 492.

due, as it was an evident improvement upon anything that had previously existed. Until the appearance of the *Ratio* the essential fault in education had been that it lacked *organization*. Between elements and the higher branches there was a gap, not to mention the deficiencies in elements themselves. No complete, systematic provision had been made for literature, and whatever was accomplished in that line had to be largely a matter of private industry on the part of the student. A pupil's sole ambition, in consequence, was to hurry through grammar and, having acquired a working facility in the use of the Latin language, to plunge into logic and devote the rest of his time to the cultivation of metaphysical abstractions. Ignatius recognized the weakness and danger of such a procedure and sought to remedy it by organizing studies in his colleges upon a more connected and rational basis. So important, in fact, did he rate thoroughness in literature that he expressly insisted that none be allowed to pass to their higher studies until they had first proved that they had attained the requisite competency. His ideas upon the sub-

ject were reinforced by others after him until, finally, they assumed definite and expanded shape in the *Ratio* which may be called the first organized Christian system of studies on record.¹ Before the time of Comenius (1592) "the Jesuits alone," says Quick, "had had a complete educational course planned out, and had pursued a uniform method in carrying this plan through."² This organ-

(1) "Ce programme d'Études (*Ratio*) fut imprimé plus d'un siècle avant la *méthode* de Thomassin (1672) pour les Collèges des Oratoriens, un siècle et demi avant le *Traité des Études Monastiques* de Mabillon (1691) à l'usage des Bénédictins, et près de deux siècles avant le *Traité des Études* de Rollin (1740) pour l'Université." Rochemonteix, *Le Collège Henri IV.* Vol. 2, p. 2.

(2) *Educational Reformers.* By R. H. Quick, M. A., Trinity College, Cambridge. P. 62. *First Edition.* "The most valuable history of education in our mother tongue."—*Educational Review*, Vol. 1, p. 69. Again he observes, "In this particular (that, namely, of organized studies) the Jesuit schools contrasted strongly with their rivals of old, as indeed with the ordinary schools of the present day. The Head Master, who is to the modern English school what the General, Provincial, Rector, Prefect of Studies and *Ratio Studiorum* combined were to a school of the Jesuits, has perhaps no standard in view up to which the boy should have been brought when his school course is complete. The Masters of form teach just those portions of their subject in which they themselves are interested, in any way that occurs to them, with by no means uniform success; so that when two forms are examined with the same examination papers, it is no very uncommon occurrence for the lower to be found superior to the higher. It is, perhaps, to be expected that a course in which uniform method tends to a definite goal would, on the whole, be more successful than one in which a boy has to accustom himself by turns to half a dozen different methods, invented at haphazard by individual Masters with different aims in view, if indeed they have any aims at all." *Ibid.* p. 15.

ization of studies necessitated a supplementary measure of no less importance which calls for at least a passing notice. To operate their system with anything like effect, they needed a full course of graded text-books, and these accordingly they set to writing and editing, as soon as possible, for their own convenience as a very desirable substitute for what Hallam is pleased to stigmatize, when speaking upon the subject, "as the barbarous school books then in use."¹ The Jesuit school system is simple enough. Presupposing elements, the entire curriculum of lower studies is divided into the Course of Grammar consisting of three or four years, and that of literature made up of two. Students are first to be drilled thoroughly in the sense and practice of grammar until sufficient familiarity with Authors has been acquired to enable them to speak and write correctly. The Course of literature then follows. Though generally finished in two years, strictly speaking it is to have no defined limits of duration, but is to be prolonged until the pupils have compassed the end aimed

(1) *loc. cit.*

at, which is ease and elegance in composition with a general survey of the whole field of Polite Letters. The means adopted by the *Ratio* to render the teaching in the various classes practically as well as theoretically beneficial are numerous and original. Foremost amongst them are what are technically known as the *prælectio*, *repetitio*, *exercitatio*, *concertatio* and the *argumentum scribendi*. A word upon each. The *prælectio* is a preliminary explanation of the precepts in grammar and the extract in the author assigned for the next day's lesson. In it the significance and force and present application of rules are to be hinted at; and, if it be a question of rhetoric instead of grammar, the student should have pointed out to him, in a general way, the direction his analysis should take if it would open up the passage in all its latent wealth of thought and expression. Such an exercise prepares the way for the more intelligent grasp of the lesson by clearing up doubts and difficulties, to the student, perhaps, altogether insurmountable if left to his own unaided resources. Thus toil and oil are both saved. *Repetitio*, as the word indi-



cates, consists in reviewing the matter seen in order to impress it still more indelibly upon the youthful mind. It proceeds upon the supposition that it is better to see little and see it well than to cover a great deal and do it skimpingly. With language, as with all else, where the foundation laid is deep and firm, there is nothing to be feared for the superstructure to be erected. This repetition is threefold. Each day the explanation of the lessons given the preceding day is to be repeated. On Saturdays, the work of the entire week, in all the branches, is rehearsed synoptically. Upon the opening of each year the matter seen the preceding year is briefly reviewed in order to refresh the memories of the students upon subjects all important in the Course, and which presumably are beginning to grow dim if they have not been already obliterated from the mind. Such continual repetitions besides insuring the knowledge acquired, keep the teacher always in touch with the actual condition of each pupil, enabling him to detect at every stage of the proceedings what the weakness and drawbacks are in each individual

case; to what quarter a stimulus is to be applied; and what should be its nature and extent. The *Exercitatio* is a written exercise done in the school-room by each pupil and under the immediate supervision of the Master. Besides serving as a relief from the tedium of ordinary routine, it awakens interest by reason of the greater mental concentration to which it gives rise, and habituates a youth to the necessary practice of marshalling and managing his own ideas. The *Concertatio* differs from it in being oral and performed either in the class-room or upon a stage publicly. Both are in a measure forms of *repetitio*, but are possessed of features which call for a still larger display of originality, precision and finish. These class tournaments, or *concertationes*, occur between boys of different classes, or those of the same class drawn up in imaginary battle array, in opposing "camps," and seeking to rout one another in recitations and bear off the honors at stake for their "side." As a play upon the ambition of youth, few practices have been found more useful.¹ The *Argumentum*

(1) Educational Reformers. *ut supra*. Appendix. I. *Class Matches*.

scribendi is the outline of a theme or composition dictated to the scholars and upon which their development and elucidation of the matter are to be built. As its purpose would indicate, it is to be diligently prepared by the teacher and in every way suited to the grade of the class and the capacity of the students. Let him even aim at elegance, says the *Ratio*, in its construction, making it a lively and suggestive reproduction of the graceful features of the Authors being read in class. Composition is held in such high esteem by the *Ratio* that proficiency in it, whatever be the language or class, is made the touchstone of success and promotion. How advantageous this practice is as a help thereunto is obvious, since it familiarizes the pupil with the double use of the analytic and synthetic methods of study, and accustoms him, even imperceptibly, to habits of exact thought, so indispensably needful for the simplification and co-ordination of topics. Later he will do the work for himself. At present he requires help. Passing from the lower to the upper or higher studies, those, namely, proper to a university curriculum and to which the Society

is to apply itself more especially, there is an easing off, as might well be expected, in the methods of procedure, if not in the work itself. Lecturing is substituted for the explanations customary in the lower forms. Repetitions, though retained, are adapted to the more advanced capacities of the students and the higher character of the studies. Philosophical, theological and other scientific disputations take the place of the *exercitatio* and *concertatio*, while written dissertations upon the matter treated are substituted for the composition work of earlier years. No incitement to study other than zeal for self-improvement and the iron-clad qualifications requisite for graduation are now deemed necessary. Numerous and severe tests are made before degrees in any faculty are granted, and each student must stand or fall by the greater or less diligence he may have manifested at his work.

(a) Throughout the course the classes, which are not to contain more than thirty or forty boys, are to be so graded that each will have its own maximum and minimum amount of matter to be seen, and the professor is strictly required to note

the fact. Thus there is no cramming, no trespassing, no mincing, and hence no confusion. A chief function of the Head Master of the schools, whether high or low, is to see to the observance of this point. (b) The method of instruction is oral. There is an advantage in its being so, as it enables teachers the more readily to impress upon education those interesting features with which nothing but the living voice can invest it. Moreover, it brings them into nearer contact with their pupils, and helps to throw into bolder relief and with tangible results that paternal relationship which should exist between teacher and taught. As a feature of education, paternalism was always prized by the Jesuits, who looked upon it as necessary in practice if one is ever to acquire a knowledge of his pupils' character, which is, indeed, requisite for their proper moulding. It is a gratifying sign in the education of our day, that it is coming more into general favor, and the distance which has hitherto separated tutor from scholar is being gradually bridged over.¹ (c) In the lower courses the

(1) "Another reform introduced, but only begun to be carried out, is the establishment of a right relation between teacher and pupil. They need to come

lessons are to be short, as every word, phrase and sentence is to be analyzed. Thoroughness is sought for above all else.¹ That the brighter or more diligent may not have idle time on their hands, a class of "Honors" is provided in each form in which special work is done, and which only those attend who surpass in the ordinary lessons. This device enables all to see as much matter as their talents warrant, without forcing the less gifted to undertake what is beyond their reach. (d) The various languages are to be studied in their

nearer to one another. Many of our primary schools are about models in this, but in higher forms a great gap between teacher and taught still yawns. They ought to approach each other closer in what I may call an ethical way, as well as in an intellectual way. We need, more than we have as yet done, to get upon a level of friendship with our pupils, not standing off from them, not looking down upon them. Present yourself to your pupils as their guide, friend, adviser, elder brother, one who, having the advantage of age and longer study, is able to assist them. The *in loco parentis* idea of the teacher's office is sometimes urged as an argument in favor of pedagogical sternness and severity. Not so. Parental authority itself is no longer exercised in the old way. How many civilized fathers horsewhip their boys nowadays? In the lower grades, and, to an extent, in all, authority must exist, but it must be kept as much as possible in the background. Never coerce a pupil save as a last resort." *The next steps forward in Education*, by President Andrews. Brown University; in *School and College*. Vol. I. p. 5.

(1) "Stude potius," says Sacchini, "ut pauciora distincteque percipiant quam obscure atque confuse pluribus imbuantur." Or, as Macaulay puts it; "It will be found more nutritious to digest a page than to devour a volume." *Essays. Athenian Orators*.

respective classics rather than in grammars, rhetorics and mere compilations of literary odds and ends. Cicero is to be the Latin model all through the course, some of his easier treatises not being too difficult even for beginners when Masters do their duty by strict fidelity to the requirements of the daily *prælectio*. A very important ruling this, we think, and one too apt to be overlooked, particularly in the study of the vernacular. Yet, as a matter of indisputable fact, to illustrate from our own language, there is, as we know, infinitely more to be gleaned from a judicious reading of a single classic, be it a novel of Thackeray or Scott, or a poem of Tennyson, than can ever be hoped for from mere rule and rote begotten of dry, uninteresting abstractions. Nor do we say this in disparagement of precepts, but simply because we are persuaded that the major portion of a student's time should be devoted to authors as the chief means of improvement, and not to text-books, as is too frequently the case. (e) In the forms below *Rhetoric* there are to be four or five hours of class a day. The order of exercises in the school-room is as follows: 1. *Recitation* of

the lessons given the previous day. 2. *Explanation* of the new lesson in *precepts*, of which the student must give a brief account to the teacher as soon as it is finished. This to rivet attention and secure results. 3. *Correction* of the exercises assigned the day before, and collected at the opening of class. 4. *Explanation* of the new lesson in the *Author* followed immediately by a repetition of the same, and preceded by a repetition of the *prælectio* of the day before. (f) Various means are resorted to in order to quicken the ambition or indolence of youth, as the case may be. Besides the public displays (*concertationes*) attended by only a limited number of classes, there are others at which the entire college, Faculty and pupils, is present; and others again, occurring several times a year, at which the parents of the students and the general public assist. The results of competitive exercises held in all the classes are proclaimed upon these occasions and premiums and other distinctions are bestowed upon the worthy. Again, semi-annual examinations are held in all the classes, and the results published and recorded. They determine

whether a student's present attainments justify his continuance in the class; whether, perhaps, it might not be better either to promote him in consideration of his rapid progress, or lower his grade, because of serious deficiency in the preceding term. Furthermore, Debating Societies and "Academies," as they are called, are organized under the supervision and immediate direction of some member of the Faculty. They serve as a vent for the growing information of the youthful mind consequent upon private reading and collateral study. As they enjoy a certain prestige, membership in them is reckoned an honor, and bestowed only upon the diligent and deserving. (g) Lastly, that the teachers themselves may always act in concert, monthly and daily conferences or meetings are provided for, in which a general interchange of view keeps every one posted on the drift of collegiate affairs. The *System* has other detailed features which would illustrate still further to what a minute extent the principles of organization have been carried out. Such as we have given, however, will suffice for present purposes. Speaking upon this

subject, Ranke says: "They (the Jesuits) began by the closest observance of a carefully considered system, dividing the schools into classes, and pursuing in them a method strictly uniform, from the earliest principles of learning to the highest degree of science."¹ "No other school system," says Quick, "has been built up by the united efforts of so many astute intellects; no other system has met with so great success or attained such widespread influence."²

IV. Finally. Perhaps there was nothing more conducive to the popularity enjoyed by the Jesuits as educators than the prominence which they gave in their system to *moral training*.³ Though we mention it

(1) Hist. of the Papacy. Vol. I. B. II. §. 7. He says again: "With them (the Jesuits) all was nicely calculated, every movement and action had its definite end and aim; such combination of learning sufficing to its purpose with unswerving zeal, of studies and persuasion, of pomp and asceticism, of widely extended influence and unity in the governing principle and intention, has never been witnessed in the world before or since." Ibid. B. V. §. 3.

"The past as well as the present organization of the schools of the Jesuits," says Barnard, "the course of instruction, methods of teaching, and discipline, are worthy of profound study by teachers and educators who would profit by the experience of wise and learned men." *American Journal of Education*. Vol. V. p. 215. *Editorial Remark*.

(2) *Educational Reformers*, ut supra. pg. 20.

(3) "They (the Jesuits) paid great attention to the moral culture, and formed their pupils to good character and correct manners. * * * * From the

last, it was nevertheless considered by them the supreme element in education. The riotous, dissolute manner of life which disgraced the medieval universities was the bane of the day as everybody knows. So impressed was Ignatius by the dangers of the situation that he sought to provide a check and remedy by making the moral training of youth the essential object of his Institution. He did not fail to mark, nor his followers after him, the radical distinction between education and mere instruction. Education, as he understood it, meant the development of the whole man, and, therefore, aimed

Jesuits education received that tone of religion by which it has since been marked." Ranke. *Hist. of the Papacy*. Vol. I. B. V. §. 3.

In remarkable contrast with this statement of a non-Catholic, but recognized authority, is the declaration of Samuel Williams, Ph. D., who has lately written what may be justly styled one of the most ludicrous parodies upon the "History of Modern Education" that has been floated upon the market for years. Speaking of the educational work of the Jesuits and without, of course, adducing any proof of his assertions and insinuations, he says: "Originality or independence of thought was no part of their object, nor was it encouraged. From the narrowness of aim and from the alleged lack of deep morality based on principle which their system inculcated, sprang the faults with which the education they give is charged." The entire work teems with similar shallow absurdities, so bald and unsubstantiated that they can serve no other purpose than to emphasize the utter incompetency or blind fanaticism of the author.

History of Modern Education, by Samuel Williams, Ph. D.; C. W. Bardeen, Syracuse, N. Y.

primarily at the formation of character as being the most essential part of that development. Such a formation mere intellectual cultivation could never bring about, for the obvious reason that it never touches the domain of morals except speculatively, and exercises no determining influence upon the practice and purposes of life. And character, he was convinced, without a moral substructure, were as inconceivable as daylight with the sun blotted from the heavens. Accordingly, great as might be their zeal for mental improvement, his followers were to be infinitely more concerned about the formation of the hearts of their pupils. Development of character along the lines of a sturdy moral growth was to take precedence of everything else.¹ And in this wise

(1) "Speaking succinctly," says President Andrews, "the constituents of a sound education are first, character; second, culture; third, critical power, including accuracy and also sympathy with all the various ages, nationalities and moods of men; and fourth, power to work hard under rule and pressure. We see that here mere knowledge is left out of the account. It is quite incidental and relatively insignificant. Yet this is what most people have been wont to regard as the sum and substance of education. * * * * The definition makes character part of education and even gives it the first place. All reflecting persons are coming to feel that unless schooling makes pupils morally better, purer within and sweeter, kinder, stronger in outward conduct, it is unworthy the name." *Ut supra*. How refreshing

provision we see the real germ-motive of all their energy—the mainspring of an activity so restless that to some minds, unable to comprehend it, it savored of genuine fanaticism. They scouted danger and underwent every hardship for the privilege of being allowed to mould the undeveloped mind and heart. The work might be difficult; the results in many cases scant. The very ones in whose interest their zeal was being exercised might prove callous to the efforts being made in their behalf. Yet they were never to falter. Neither were they to look upon those efforts as wholly profitless, so long as they succeeded in making their pupils better citizens and Christians by rooting them still more firmly in the love and service of God. With this end in view, religion was ever kept in the foreground. Its vital importance as a factor in education was insisted upon whenever opportunity offered. Practical instructions covering the dogmas of revelation were given at stated intervals, thus supplying the young mind with the logical groundwork of the faith to

in an age that has gone mad on book learning to hear one of our leading educators sounding a note so deep and full and true.

which it clung, as well as the arms with which to meet in successful conflict the attacks that would inevitably be made upon it later. That practice might tally with theory, and the soul be put in closer touch with its Maker than by mere abstract speculations, numerous pious exercises were prescribed which served as timely reminders to the students of the higher and more arduous work which they had in hand, the assimilation, namely, into the practice of daily individual life of the evangelical precepts and of the virtues of Him of whose character those precepts are the living and glorious embodiment.¹ Daily Mass, prayers at the opening and closing of schools, the frequentation of the Sacraments, and the institution of religious confraternities to which only students who excelled in deportment were eligible, all pointed in this direction—conspiring to a common result. Moreover, the reading of the students was carefully supervised, and

(1) Nor is the zeal displayed in this matter a thing of the past. "In scholis etiam nostris," says the late General, Very Rev. A. M. Anderledy, in a recent encyclical letter to the members of his Order, "coelesti huic doctrinae primas dari necesse est, atque ita dari, ut persuasum sit omnibus, vitam ad Christi Domini normam exigendam in summa apud nos laude poni atque honore."

nothing that could dim the lustre of youthful innocence was ever allowed to reach them. Pagan authors, though read in class, were diligently expurgated, while much of the current folly masquerading under the name of "literature of the day," was kept at a safe and remote distance. Add to all which constant and intimate intercourse, upon the play ground as well as in the class-room, with men wholly given over to the service of God, and we readily perceive how salutary, how elevating must have been the atmosphere in which their young lives were to grow and prosper. So important a part, in fact, was religious training to play that the *Ratio* gives very minute instructions to Masters on the care they are to take of their pupils, of the flawless example they are to set them, and of the unalterable patience and weariless solicitude they are to exercise in dealing with them, ever mindful of the sentiment of the poet:

"Nemo adeo ferus est, ut non mitescere
possit,
Si modo culturae patientem commodet
aurem."¹

(1) Horace. Epist. i. V. 39.

A religious training characterized by so much assiduity and system and continued throughout the formative period of life must have had, in the very nature of things, a telling influence, and that influence beneficial upon the moral make-up of the students. This is not the place nor do we consider it worth the while to examine the charge, now quite threadbare, that Jesuit influence was morally deleterious. It needs no refutation. It was one of the numerous slanders perpetrated at the expense of the Order by its adversaries in former days. The vindictive raciness of Pascal, Arnaud and others was enlisted to invest it with the charm of rare wit and genius. Trumped up by vilifiers, like every calumny it lived its little day until other and better tactics supplanted it in the field of upright polemics. A wiser than Solomon has said, "by their fruits you shall know them," and a system which could give birth to men of the princely mould of Francis De Sales, Alphonsus Liguori, Tasso, Benedict XIV, Bossuet, Leo XIII, and a whole army of others has no apology to offer for its moral character.¹ If

(1) *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, par Crétineau-Joly, Vol. 4, p. 207.

in their youth the lives of such men had been polluted they could never have bequeathed to posterity so many memorials of character framed upon principles as broad as they are sound.

X Not every Jesuit pupil, it must be confessed, in the three hundred years of their history has been a credit to his tutors. Neither was it to have been expected. But the fault was not the Society's. Even the most celebrated of those who played it false and perhaps the most pronounced in his antagonism, the famous Voltaire, admits as much, and describes in no doubtful terms his own estimate of the lives of men whose morality and God-fearing spirit he could praise while not caring to imitate them. "During the seven years," he writes, "that I lived in the house of the Jesuits, what did I see amongst them? The most laborious, frugal and regular life ; all their hours divided between the care they spent on us and the exercises of their austere profession. I attest the same as thousands of others brought up by them, like myself ; not one will be found to contradict me. - Hence I can never cease wondering how any one can accuse

them of teaching corrupt morality.†

* * * * Let any one place side by side the *Provincial Letters* and the sermons of Father Bourdaloue: he will learn in the former the art of raillery, the art of presenting things, indifferent in themselves, under aspects which make them appear criminal, the art of insulting with eloquence; he will learn from Father Bourdaloue that of being severe to oneself and indulgent to others."¹ So spoke Voltaire, and it is only to be regretted that a seed so precious should have fallen upon a heart so irresponsive.

† These we think, not to mention others of less importance, were the principal reasons for the popularity and consequent influence enjoyed by the Society of Jesus as an educational body. They filled a need of the times and it was quite to be expected that the Institute of Ignatius should have been welcomed as a step in advance of the old order of things, and as more in harmony with the spirit of an age that was gradually breaking with the traditional and narrow conservatism of the past. In the

(1) Lettre 7 février 1746. Tom. VIII. p. 1128. Edit. 1817.

sunshine of the favor thus vouchsafed it, the Order grew rapidly as history universally attests; and that its course in future, under similar circumstances, would have been equally prosperous and speedy there was every reason to believe. But all this time its enemies had not been idle. They had multiplied and compassed it round about. They were instant in their demands for its suppression, and their clamors eventually prevailed. One word from the Vicar of Christ was all that was needed, and, as we know, it was spoken; and upon its single utterance the Society of Jesus and its world-wide educational influence passed away. But in the rulings of a higher destiny the fatality was to be of short duration. Yet awhile it would reappear clothed with its ancient life and vigor and prepared once more to resume its former work in the field of pedagogics—when the power that smote it unto death would bid it wake again.

Dante and Catholic : : Philosophy

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Christian Education

IN THE

First Centuries

(A. D. 33—A. D. 476)

BY THE

REV. EUGENE MAGEVNEY, S. J.
SAINT IGNATIUS COLLEGE, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.

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INTRODUCTION.

In this brochure **Father Magevney** with his wonted charm and felicitous style sketches in broad outline the beginnings of Christian Education. His references to the illustrious Alexandrian School will, it is hoped, excite the desire in many of knowing more about that famous institution of Christian learning, and stimulate to a deeper study of the greater books mentioned. We are pleased to note that the booklet is a refutation of the misrepresentations of Hallam. By thus exposing another of the false lights of modern pedagogical literature, **Father Magevney** has added another link to the chain of pedagogical truth.

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Christian Education in the First Centuries.

A. D. 33—A. D. 476.

IT was upon the summit of Olivet, at the moment of his Ascension into heaven, that the Saviour of the world gave his disciples their commission to teach all nations : “ *Euntes docete.*” Thoroughly imbued with the spirit which his words imparted, they set forth upon their great work of universal civilization and reform. As we survey the checkered retrospect of the ages that have since elapsed, and philosophize upon the marvelous transformation which their efforts effected, we cannot but be profoundly impressed by the vitality of Christian truth and its unmistakable mission in the life and character and affairs of mankind. Like the tiny mustard-

seed of which he had once spoken in parable, its beginnings were scant and literally "underground"; but in the sunlight of Divine favor and watchfulness it soon sprouted into a mighty tree, sheltering all the world and scattering its benedictions far and wide. Wherever intelligent minds and responsive hearts were to be found, there it was also to be met with, pleading for acceptance as against the tangled mysticism and confused follies of a paganism which it was eventually to supplant. In Greece, in Britain, in Gaul, in Spain, in distant Asia and Africa—everywhere, in fact, were multitudes of Christians whose noble lives and deaths bore eloquent testimony to the genuineness of the early instruction which they had received. So rapid was the spread of the new teaching; so tenacious its hold; so redoubtable the fortress behind which it was intrenched, that in less than a hundred years it had become a prominent factor in the social and moral, and, we may also add, in the politi-

cal development and destiny of the Empire. "At the commencement of the second century," writes Saint Justin, "there is no people among whom we do not find believers in Jesus Christ." Such is the universally admitted historical fact. And as we pause to moralize upon it, we naturally ask where and from whom did this numerous throng acquire the knowledge of those prolific principles which had wrought such a wonderful transformation in their lives, and which they were only too glad to possess as a substitute for the teachings of the Academy and the Lyceum. To the casual observer, nothing unusual had transpired. The great Roman world moved on as before. The Cæsar sat upon his throne. The profane multitudes revelled in the bloody spectacles of the amphitheatre. The public marts re-echoed to the customary hum of traffic. The forum was the scene of competition as brisk and sharp as in the days of Cicero and Hortensius. Yet despite the outward seeming a tremendous

change had come over the spirit of their wakening no less than of their dream. Where, then, were the teachers and where the institutions at whose hands and within whose precincts those athletes of the new Gospel were trained? Writers upon the early Christian schools pass over in almost absolute silence the first half of the first century, assigning as their reason for so doing the total absence of historical documents. While we do not condemn the wisdom of their course when there is question of a formal treatise on the subject, we do not propose to imitate them in our present consideration. Dialecticians assure us that it is quite logical to reason from known effects to the nature of unknown causes; and applying the principle to the fact of which we have just spoken, that is to say, the rapid and widespread dissemination of Christian doctrine, we arrive at various conclusions not less interesting than reliable.

First, there is no doubt that whatever education was bestowed upon

the early Christians was of a purely *domestic* character. "Every house," says Saint Chrysostom, "was a church." In the deep seclusion of the catacombs, in the privacy of the family circle, in some secret and commodious retreat upon the grounds of a rich patron recently converted to the faith, the Christians gathered, and there, together, read and prayed, while they taught their children the elements of sacred knowledge. The reason for these precautions was, of course, the persecutions to which they were constantly exposed in Jerusalem and Antioch, no less than in Rome. It was a crime to be a Christian, and such as professed Christianity openly did so at the peril of their lives. Even in the heart of the earth they were not safe, and more than one instance is on record of how Jewish vindictiveness and Roman savagery tracked them even there. Hence the profound reserve with which they veiled all their proceedings. They wrote and spoke in symbols; and it is not to be won-

dered at that their educational methods, if we may use the phrase, are as little known to us as the other features of their hidden life. Furthermore, another new and distinctive trait of their teaching was that *it was for all equally*. This was a departure in the history of education. Until the coming of Christ, knowledge had been looked upon as the exclusive privilege and right of the higher classes. And this because it was viewed as a matter of State, whose principal if not sole object was to qualify its possessor for some public trust, political, civil, or priestly. But with Christ it was quite different. His teaching, no less than his redemption, was for every one alike, Gentile as well as Jew, bond as well as free. Hence the beautiful spectacle that so often presents itself, in the scenes of those distant days, of the rich and poor, of the noble and the plebeian, the master and the serf, intermingling in the sweet intimacy of children of one and the same household. "See how they love

one another," expresses it exactly. Baptised at the same font, fed at the same table of life, it was under the same conditions that they drank of the well-spring of wisdom. Saint Paul's tender solicitude for the slave Onesimus, as pictured in his letter to Philemon, is an index of the situation as it was in his day and had been from the beginning.

Again, the teaching of the first Christians, as far as we know, was confined to *religious instruction*. It was in the nature of the case that it should have been so. They could not without danger to their souls as well as their bodies frequent the pagan schools of their times. Besides, it was all important, in view of the special difficulties of the situation, that they should become thoroughly imbued with the maxims of that Gospel of which they were to be the first witnesses and exponents. By comparison with the delights which it afforded, pagan learning could have had no charm for them; neither could it have been of any

use so long as they had cast their lot with a system in virtue of which they were ostracized from all human society. If, as some will have it, their pupils dipped occasionally into the works of pagan authors, it could only have been as a matter of individual and rare experiment, and was conducted with all the supervision and safeguards which their exceptional zeal and holiness of life would naturally suggest.¹ Let us not suppose, however, that the instruction bestowed upon early converts to the faith because exclusively religious, was at all barren or superficial. Cardinal Hergenrother, in his interesting work upon "Primitive Christi-

¹ Even as late as the fourth century we find the Fathers of the Church antagonizing one another on this very point. But the reasons adduced in support of the study of pagan authors at that late date could have had no force when applied to the opening years of the Christian era; that is to say, as long as the persecutions lasted. The time had not yet come when Origen could write to Gregory Thaumaturgus; "We are permitted when we go out of Egypt to carry with us the riches of the Egyptians, wherewith to adorn the tabernacle." The time had not yet come when the brilliancy of the Alexandrian school and the polemical acumen of its immortal professors were to give Christianity a standing never to be gainsaid or undone. The Patristic age, too, which even Guizot admits to have been the brightest literary period since the dawn of religion, was still a thing of the remote future.

anity," which, as he himself informs us, is scarcely more than an excerpt from De Rossi's monumental treatise on the catacombs, rehearses the points of doctrine with which they were familiar. His enumeration covers in substance the essential field of dogmatic theology ; God the Creator, the Trinity, the Angels, man and his fall, the leading events and personages of the Old Testament, the coming of Christ, the mysteries and chief happenings of his life, the four Gospels, the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Church, the Primacy, the Seven Sacraments, and that epitome of Christian revelation, the Apostles' Creed. All this and much else that had to do with the virtues, with the acts of the early martyrs, and the liturgical practices of those days, was taught to them carefully ; and, as if to grave it upon their memories, was traced in mysterious outlines upon the walls and diptychs of their subterranean abodes. True, the life of the early Christian was a diversified one. Not every day was a rainy

day. Persecution did not rage continuously. Not every city was Rome or Jerusalem or Antioch, and, for all we know, their condition in some quarters may have been favorable enough to have allowed them to live and teach in public. Let us refrain from saying so, however, since to assert it were merely to surmise. But whilst, in their educational life, we behold no trace of schools in the common acceptation of the term, we can discern the germ element of two features which were to play a prominent part in the historical growth of Christian education in after centuries. We allude to the practice of community life, and the custom which prevailed with the Apostles and their immediate Episcopal successors of gathering around them as pupils, and often as members of their own households, such young men as they deemed it advisable to qualify for the sacred ministry. In the one we recognize the monastic principle at work ; in the other the far-off dawnings of a system which, with

varying fortunes, was to lead up to the Episcopal or Cathedral Schools of the Middle Ages and the Seminaries of modern times.¹ And this is all of education we discover any vestige of in the earliest infancy of the Church—the inculcation in secret of the tenets of the faith to children and catechumens when and where the vicissitudes of the time would

1 It is noteworthy that the custom of living together was not merely forced upon the first Christians by stress of circumstances and the imperative need which they felt of combining for mutual comfort and support, but was adopted in imitation of the Saviour himself, who had organized his Apostles, and for that matter all of his disciples, into a family of which he was the father, the director, the teacher. In the desert, upon the lake-shore, upon the mountain, in the vestibule of the temple, upon the highways and by-ways, it was "the multitude" that was gathered around him. And so speedily and fully did this idea commend itself, and so general had the practice become, that the very hermits in the desert, long before the advent of monasticism, felt the necessity of it, and at stated intervals met together for prayer, or reading, or pious conversation. Thus up to Christ, through the first Christians and the Apostles themselves, is the canonical rule of life distinctly traceable. Hence with truth could Saint Augustine say in after years, in reply to certain attacks made upon him by the Donatists for having established a community of regular clergy, that, "While the name of monastery is new, the manner of life which we adopt is coeval with Christianity itself." In like manner the Apostles gathered around them their young students destined to aid and succeed them in the ministry. For instance, we are told that Saint Peter was assisted by a chosen band of companions, of whom the names of Saint Mark, Saint Clement, Saint Evodius and Saint Linus have come down to us. Tradition has also preserved the memory of the numerous disciples of Saint John, notably of Polycarp and Papias, who sojourned with him at Ephesus, where the declining years of his life were spent.

allow, and the private schools which centered around the Apostles and first bishops, and whose purpose was distinctly ecclesiastical.

It was not until the flourishing period of the Alexandrian Academies, under the presidency of Saint Pantaenus, and as late as A. D. 181, that we observe any departure from the exclusively domestic methods which, until then, had been the vogue. These Academies or Catechetical Schools, as they were generally called, were already more than a hundred years old when Pantaenus appeared on the scene. Their origin, according to Saint Jerome, dates from Saint Mark, the Evangelist, who, upon the dispersion of the Apostles, had been sent by Saint Peter to preach in Egypt. He arrived at Alexandria in the seventh year of the reign of Nero and the sixtieth of the Christian era. At the time, "Alexandria, the beautiful," as she was called, was not only one of the commercial emporiums of the world, but its literary capital as well.

The combined civilizations of the East and West had poured into her lap the garnered fruits of years of uninterrupted social and political advance. The proud Roman, the subtle Greek, the opulent Jew, traders from Syria, India, Arabia and Ethiopia, no less than the native Egyptian, found it to their respective interests to live within her borders, and be made participants in the countless advantages which she alone could offer. But her material prosperity was not to be the secret of her greatest renown. Her schools and university, generously patronized by the savants and youthful *litterati* of foreign lands, were to immortalize her yet more.¹ They afforded every facility for the acquisition of that broad and deep intellectual culture which forms such a marked feature in the mental structure of her many distinguished scholars. Literature, art and science—all that went to con-

¹ For a beautiful account of the Alexandrian University or "Museum," see Newman's *Historical Sketches*, vol. iii., c. viii.; also Allies' *Church and State*, p. 355. For an account of the Church of Alexandria, see Newman's *Arians*, sect. iii.

stitute a liberal education, was within her gift; while the stimulus which she gave to investigation in the upper fields of thought was to make itself felt throughout all subsequent ages. Under the patronage of the first Ptolemies, and until Roman oppression had dimmed the lustre of her ancient glory, scholarship was in good and universal repute. The old philosophies had ripened to their fullest in the sunshine of her royal favor. The abstractions of Plato, the speculations of Aristotle, the "mystical rationalism" of Philo, and, later on, the Neo-Platonic vagaries of Ammonius Saccas and Plotinus, found in her midst an atmosphere most congenial for the exercise of whatever activity they possessed. The Christian element alone was wanting in the frame-work of her intellectual build, and it was supplied by the advent of the Evangelist, Saint Mark. As we have already observed, whatever teaching was done, owing to an always present danger, was bestowed in secret; and

that not only in Rome but in the Provinces, and wherever the zeal and enterprise of early converts had carried the Christian name. Saint Mark seems to have adopted the same prudential measure in his new and fertile field. Six years after his arrival, that is to say, A. D. 66, and about thirty years after the dispersion of the Apostles, the first general persecution broke out at Rome under Nero, and doubtless rendered it advisable, in a cosmopolitan centre like Alexandria, for Christians to be more than ordinarily circumspect, and pursue their vocation secludedly until the storm had ceased to threaten. Certain it is, even in default of historical testimony, that the catechetical schools were multiplied rapidly from his day onward, steadily radiating from his Episcopal See to all quarters of the East. It was traditional in Saint Jerome's time, towards the close of the fourth century, A. D. 375, that Saint Mark had made it a point to group about him the most eminent scholars he could find

equally skilled in sacred and profane learning. These he perfected under his own eyes and sent forth to repeat the work, which they had learnt from him, by the organization of similar schools elsewhere. We can see no reason to discredit the tradition. The numerous schools which, a century later, leaped to the surface within the very shadow of the university and in the principal cities of Egypt, Syria and Arabia, when temporary peace was granted to the Church, all fashioned upon the Alexandrian model, as well as the many distinguished converts from paganism who had come under their saving influence, spoke volumes in their praise, and indicated not only that the schools had existed, but also that their thoroughness testified to long years of painstaking and systematic development. They threw upon the field, on the first favorable opportunity, a fully-equipped army of representative scholars to assault, and that in public, the very strongholds of pagan philosophy and prejudice—like some

titanic force, slumbering and yet alive, within the bosom of the earth, in silent expectation of the day and hour of its overwhelming manifestation. As to the method of instruction adopted by Saint Mark and his successors down to Saint Pantaenus, that is to say, for the first hundred years, we are not historically informed. Writers upon the subject, however, surmise, and with considerable show of truth, that it was, if not the same, at least very much like that pursued by the Christian teachers in Jerusalem, of which we have some record, and where we are told : "the catechumens were assembled in the porch of the church, the men and women sitting apart from one another, and the Master standing to deliver his instruction." The matter of the instruction was always confined to the doctrines of faith, and was treated catechetically or apologetically, and beyond this neither the first schools at Alexandria or elsewhere seem to have gone.

It was in the year 181 that Saint Pantaenus, successor to Athenagoras, succeeded to the presidency of the Alexandrian Academy, over which he presided for ten years. He was in all likelihood a Sicilian by birth, a convert from Stoicism, a man of superior attainments and celebrated amongst the gentile philosophers of his day. His entrance upon office was contemporaneous with a transitional period in the history of Christianity. The dreadful persecution which had been raging, we may say uninterruptedly, since the days of Saint Mark, had abated. The lull in the storm only spurred the Christians to redoubled efforts in the interests of religion. Naturally enough, their activity manifested itself nowhere more conspicuously than in and about the catechetical schools of Alexandria. Pantaenus felt that the moment was auspicious. Being in every sense what in modern parlance we would describe as "a man of the times," and, therefore, keenly alive to the needs of the situation, he was

persuaded that the hour had come for Christianity to make somewhat of a departure from the extremely conservative methods hitherto pursued. The light of the world had been long enough under a bushel. He would set it upon a mountain, that "nations might walk in its splendor and kings in the brightness of its rising." The magnificent deposit of Divine truth which had been whispered in secret, and which had shunned, as contamination, all alliance with profane knowledge, he and his learned *confrères* would proclaim from the house-top, while they threw down the gauntlet of debate to the proud philosophers of the University, whether Platonist, Peripatetic or Eclectic, who fancied that in the speculations of Plato and Aristotle they had reached the "Ultima Thule" of human investigation. The schools, which had hitherto been only for the Christians, were now thrown open to all indiscriminately. The result is easily imagined, Heterogeneous throngs upon throngs

packed the lecture-halls, attracted thither by the growing reputation and held enchained by the lofty eloquence of the speakers, and most of all by the sublime truths which, for the first time, they heard enunciated, and which were in strange contrast with the scientific vagaries to which they had been accustomed. Men of the superb calibre of Titus Flavius Clemens, better known in Christian annals as Clement of Alexandria, and whom Saint Jerome eulogizes as the most learned writer of the Church, were set thinking, and could not, as a result of their logical reflections, but prefer the Personal God of the Christians to the hazy "emanations" of Plotinus; the usefulness of a theological system which had a practical bearing, and intimately affected the morals of men, to "Platonic myths and Pythagorean theories of mortification," whose pursuit invariably terminated in dissatisfaction and confusion. Philo, at the very dawn of the Christian era, had sought to reconcile, and even identify, in a com-

mon origin, the writings of Moses and Plato, and out of his endeavor sprang the short-lived compromise of Neo-Platonism—"the Puseyism of Paganism," as it has been styled. That which he attempted for the Old Testament the Christian Doctors of Alexandria did in a measure for the New. They harmonized Pagan with Gospel science in this sense, that they pointed out to their eager listeners what was admirable and tenable in Pagan writers, demonstrating how the higher truths of Christianity were a necessary complement, and that, if they would have their investigations terminate in something better than mistiness and discouragement, they must press them beyond the horizon of the Natural into the realm of the Supernatural ; from the domain of pure reason into that of faith and revelation. In short, that human wisdom at best was only the handmaid of Christian theology. As Saint Paulinus subsequently and in other connections wrote to Jovius : " You need not

abandon your philosophy if you will but hallow it by faith and employ it wisely by uniting it to religion." With this maxim as a basic principle of operation, the Alexandrian Catechists could and did handle the ancient authors with impunity, making it clear that whatever beauties they possessed were, after all, only the broken gleams and scattered fragments of the one infinite and incommensurate Truth, whose logical and adequate expression was the Christian concept of the Godhead, and whose visible actuality was none other than the Word made Flesh. Like fire when it seizes upon stubble, the new truths and the fame of the new teachers swept throughout Alexandria—throughout all Egypt; wherever, in fact, Egyptian ships and caravans wafted the renown of her enterprise and commerce. The truth had ceased to be a thing of the closet—a mere exotic. Its champions were to be met with everywhere, pushing its claims and making sad havoc of the traditional follies to

which even the wiseacres were clinging. In season and out of season, upon the busy thoroughfares of the city or in the lecture-rooms of the University or *Sarapeion*; in the libraries and gardens, and upon the public drives and crowded wharves—in all places and at all times they were to be found teaching, and, by dint of the most compact logic, opening up entire vistas of unexplored verities for the contemplation of the ripest geniuses of the day. The harvest was bending for the sickle. The laborers, though necessarily few, were multiplying daily, and the necessary result was large and constant accessions from all grades and classes of society to the ranks of the Christian fold. We are not to suppose, however, that the work of the Alexandrian school was confined to argument with pagan *literati* and philosopher. That were an injustice to its saintly professors and to the spirit of its Apostolic founder which still hovered about its precincts. Though it was the most conspicuous,

it was by no means the only or even the principal work. The catechetical classes for catechumens and children were its most efficient features. While Pantaenus and his successor Clement, and later on Origen, met the learned Pagan upon his own ground and lectured upon the most recondite subjects, numerous well-trained disciples were appointed to look after the interests of simpler minds. Eusebius expressly narrates, and it were easy to infer it without being told, that Origen divided his school into two sections, one for the more advanced and another for beginners ; understanding by beginners not merely, as some have done, adult converts from Paganism, but also, as Fleury insists, children.¹ For, while

1 But when he (Origen) saw that he was not adequate at the same time to the more intense study of divine things and to the interpretation of the Scriptures, and in addition to the instruction of the Catechumens, who scarcely allowed him to draw breath, one coming after another, from morning till night, to be taught by him, he divided the multitude, and selected Heraclas, one of his friends, who was devoted to the study of the Scriptures, and in other respects also a most learned man, not unacquainted with philosophy, and associated him with himself in the office of instruction. To him, therefore, he committed the elementary initiation of those that were yet to be taught the first beginning, or rudiments, but reserved for himself lecturing to those that were more familiar with the subject.—Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.*, b. vi., c. 15.

it is true that the character of the instruction was generally better suited to persons of age, it is a mistake to suppose that it was all of one description. The Alexandrian school continued to prosper steadily for twenty-two years, from A. D. 180 to A. D. 202. It was then, and while Saint Clement was in charge, that the fifth general persecution under Septimus Severus broke out. The schools in Alexandria and elsewhere were closed. Their pupils and teachers were disbanded. The persecution raged incessantly until A. D. 211, the year of the Emperor's death at York, in Britain. He was succeeded by Caracalla, and peace was once more restored. Clement, on the breaking out of the persecution, had retired to Cappadocia, where he died in the year 217. We are in ignorance as to whether he ever returned to Alexandria or not. Meanwhile the illustrious Origen, then only eighteen years of age, was called upon to pilot the destinies of the school after its reorganization, which he

continued to do for twenty years, until A. D. 231, when he resigned his post and left Alexandria forever. It was not to discontinue the work of teaching, though, for we soon find him at Caesarea, in Palestine, at the head of another institution, modeled upon the Alexandrian pattern. At the time Caesarea was an important religious and intellectual centre, and with the exception of Alexandria and Antioch, compared favorably with the other cities of the East. This offshoot of the Alexandrian school was but one out of many similar educational foundations emanating from the same source, and animated by one and the same principle and spirit. As further examples we may mention those at Jerusalem, Edessa, Antioch, and, somewhat later, at Nisibis in Armenia, and at Sidon.

How long the Catechetical School of Alexandria flourished is a matter of historical conjecture. The more common opinion is that it lasted, in itself or its ramifications, until the middle and possibly the close of the

fourth century. The period of its greatest *eclat* was that during which it was administered by Pantaenus, Clement and Origen; for after theirs, no name of equal distinction appears upon its roll of masters. Of Origen's immediate successors, the names of Heraclas, Dionysius the bishop, Saint Pierius,¹ Achilles, Theognostus, Serapion and Peter the Martyr, have been preserved. Various reasons, more or less plausible, have been adduced for the gradual decadence of the school. The departure of Origen, its brightest light, to other fields, and the establishment by him of a similar institution at Caesarea, would naturally rob it of some of its quondam prestige, and divide with it pub-

¹ We have mentioned Saint Pierius as head of the Catechetical school of Alexandria upon the authority of Rohrbacher—an authority, however, with which the Bollandists are at variance. They say: "Quæcunque disputata sunt de tempore quo Pierius potuit regere Scholam Alexandrinam ad hoc reducuntur, quod legenti satis patuerit, ut ostensum sit nullatenus deesse in hucusque nota præfectorum serie intervallum quod Pierii præfecturae attribuat. At illud sane non sufficit, ut probetur eum vera hoc munus exercuisse neque ulterius progressi sumus a conclusione enuntiata in fine num. 15, nimirum non deesse quædam indicia quibus innuatur Pierius Catechetarum scholæ præsedisse, sed argumenta quæ rem plane evincant præsto non esse." *Acta Sanctorum*, Novem. Tom. ii, pars prim., pg. 260.

lic patronage and attention. Besides, and we deem this a more valid reason, it had served its time and purpose in the providence of God. It was, after all, only a phase in what was to be an interminable process of educational development. That it was an improvement upon the primitive and elementary condition in which Christian education found itself during the early years of the century, no one will gainsay. Where the proselytizing of the first Christians had been mainly amongst the Jews, the doors of the Catechetical school stood open for all alike, irrespective of race and caste. Where the matter, at the beginning was confined to the doctrines of religion, the teachings of the Alexandrians covered, in addition, the entire field of pagan research, scientific as well as literary. They could descant upon the charms of Homer and Virgil and rout the fallacies of Plato with the same dexterity and grace with which they interpreted a chapter of Genesis or taught the youngest of

their children to make the sign of the cross. And to their everlasting credit be it said that they were the first who brought the wisdom of the pagan to the steps of the altar and made it kneel down and adore. Moreover, the critical situation in which the first Christians were placed made them, as a matter of self-preservation, seek seclusion and retirement. The altered condition in which the Alexandrians found themselves at the beginning of the third century solicited them to the front, and prompted them in the interests of truth and salvation to put on what Saint Paul characterizes as "the armor of light." The result was a period of marvelous growth and activity in the Church, and the almost instantaneous creation of a generation of apologists and controversialists hardly equaled and certainly never surpassed before or since. The writings of Saint Pantaenus, which are lost, though we are told they were voluminous, and those of Clement and Ori-

gen, which have survived, will more than bear out the truth of this statement. It was a phase, then, a transition, and nothing more natural than that it should yield to the broader and fuller policy ushered in by the first Christian Emperor, Constantine the Great, in the year 313. Before passing to the consideration of his reign and the world-wide transformation which it effected in the educational status of the Christian Church, for with that alone are we concerned, let us pause to remark that the school development of the century and a half that had preceded was by no means confined to Alexandria or the numerous schools of which it was the admitted and honored parent. The facilities which it afforded were not within the reach of all. Hence it was that, stimulated by its brilliant example, a kindred zeal had taken possession of the guardians of the flock elsewhere, and the interests of education were steadily advanced. Rome had its Christian school; and that religion had es-

poused learning there, the names of Apollonius, Tatian and Justin Martyr abundantly attest. Athens had its school and its scholars also, who, like the Great Apostle, had hurried thither to announce to the inquisitive Greek the wonderful works and ways of the "unknown God." Carthage had its school and could furnish its quota of erudite and zealous Christian teachers, as the names of Tertullian and Cyprian sufficiently prove. Nor was this zeal for the diffusion of Christian teaching confined to the East. There were many in the West who, in the matter of schools, were emulating the work of the Alexandrians. To the names already mentioned we may add those of Minutius Felix, Arnobius and Lactantius, all of them of the ante-Nicene period (A. D. 325). In accentuating the work of the Alexandrian Academy and its connections, therefore, we would not be understood as insinuating that all this while the faithful elsewhere were comparatively idle. Far from it. But the condition of

public affairs in other quarters, for one reason or another, was so unsettled as to render anything like organization for corporate and continued educational purposes out of the question. In Rome, for instance, it was an almost unbroken persecution on the part of barbarous emperors, who, when they did not attack religion, found vent for their iniquity in the wholesale assaults which they made upon scholarship and scholars. Tacitus in his "Agricolæ Vita," years before, had lamented the decline and almost complete extinction of literary endeavor, owing to the inhumanity and immorality of men in power who could not understand, much less appreciate, the mission of science and literature as elements of growth in the evolution of a nation's life.¹ The same continued to be more

1 At mihi nunc narraturo vitam defuncti hominis, venia opus fuit; quam non petissem, ni cursaturus tam sæva et infesta virtutibus tempora. Legimus, cum Aruleno Rustico Pætus Thræsea, Herennio Senecioni Priscus Helvidius laudati essent capitale fuisse: neque in ipsos modo auctores, sed in libros quoque eorum sævitum, delegato triumviris ministerio, ut monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum in comitio ac foro urerentur. Scilicet illo igne vocem populi Romani et libertatem senatus et conscientiam generis humani aboleri arbitrabantur, expulsis insuper sapientiæ professoribus atque omni bona arte in exilium acta, ne quid usquam honestum occurreret. Dedimus profecto grande patientiæ documentum: et sicut vetus ætas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute, adempto per inquisitiones, et loquendi audiendique commercio. Memoriam quoque ipsam cum voce perdidissemus, si tam in nostra potestate esset oblivisci, quam tacere. *Agricolæ Vita*, c. ii.

or less the case long after his time. Alexandria alone seemed to combine the available conditions. The intellectual life focussed in her University; the high order of scientific speculation which had been in progress there for centuries, aided and encouraged by the beneficent generosity of her rulers; the sharp competition bound to follow as a consequence of so many bright minds coming together, all this and more made her a veritable hive of activity, where the truth could work marvels if it could only declare itself at the hands of proper interpreters and upon the most judicious lines of presentation. That it did so we have seen—though we have also seen how checkered was its career, even in a soil so promising. Thus as early as the third century, thanks to the enterprising spirit of the Alexandrians, whatever learning there was that was worth the having was within reach of the Christians. In consequence, the intellectual qualifications looked for in a Christian gentleman

of those days were neither mean nor few. They are thus summarized by the accomplished author of "Christian Schools and Scholars" : "In addition to the elements of education," she says, "we see that at the beginning of the third century Christians were expected to teach and study the liberal arts, profane literature, philosophy and the biblical languages. Their teachers commented on the Scripture, and devoted themselves to a critical study of its text; positive theology, as it is called, had established itself in the schools, together with a certain systematic science of Christian ethics; and, we may add, many branches of physical science also. It matters very little that these latter were imperfectly known; the real point worth observing is that every branch of human knowledge, in so far as it had been cultivated at that time, was included in the studies of the Christian schools; and considering that this had been the work of scarcely more than two centuries, and those

centuries of bloody persecution, it must be acknowledged to have been a tolerably expansive growth.'"¹ This picture which she draws of the condition of things at the opening took on deeper colors and a more perfect delineation as the century advanced, in despite of endless obstruction. All that was needed for the perfect development of Christian education was an uninterrupted peace for the Church, and in the providence of God its coming was to be no longer delayed.

Naturally enough, the entrance upon office of Constantine the Great, in the year 306, and the new policy which he inaugurated, boded well for the future of Christianity. The kindly feelings which he had manifested prior to his accession to the throne had filled the Christians with hope. Nor were they doomed to disappointment. In the year 313 he issued from Milan his decree of toleration, the effect of which was to put them upon a social and political level

¹ *Christian Schools and Scholars*, p. 10.

with their whilom pagan persecutors. And whatever his defects as a man or a prince, one thing is certain : his authority, exercised in its fulness and perseveringly, broke the fetters which had hampered the free development of Christian education, and set it upon a basis from which neither the traditional prejudice of paganism nor the malicious antagonism of men in power, such as Julian the Apostate, was able subsequently to shake it. "I wish my century," he wrote to Optatianus, "to afford an easy access to eloquence, and render a friendly testimony to serious studies." With this object in view, he threw open for the accommodation of all, irrespective of creed, the public schools of the Empire, using his authority freely in the endeavor to render them as efficient as possible. Christians were even allowed to teach in them, and some, perhaps many, availed themselves of the privilege, notwithstanding the opposition manifested in certain quarters to the practice. A word upon their history.

Public schools had made their appearance in the state as early as the days of Julius Cæsar, B. C. 60, when at least thirty could be counted. They were not at the start a recognized civil institution, but private enterprises, conducted in the interest of individual pedagogues or Grammatici. Their curriculum embraced simply the elements, though there are evidences that in some cases they were more pretentious. It was not until the time of Vespasian, A.D. 69, that what were known as the imperial schools or "Auditoria" took their rise in Rome and in many of the provincial towns of note. They were of royal foundation, and were intended for the pursuit of higher studies. At least a two year's course in fundamentals was presupposed to admission. Confined at first to rhetoric and grammar, they gradually enlarged their scope until philosophy, medicine, jurisprudence, Latin and Greek, literature, astrology, and whatever was known of other sciences, were included amongst the

branches taught. Their professors were appointed by the emperors, were well paid for their services, and, in view of their dignity, enjoyed various immunities and emoluments. Amongst the most celebrated of these schools may be mentioned those at Besançon, Arles, Cologne, Rheims, Treves, Toulouse, Clermont, Narbonne, Vienne, Bordeaux and Lyons. Those at Marseilles and Autun seem to have been the earliest, having been established by Greek colonies at some very remote and unknown date. Both Cicero and Tacitus allude to their antiquity. The most famous of the imperial schools, a sort of metropolitan university, with regard to all of them, was the Athenæum or *Schola Romana*, established by the Emperor Adrian, A.D. 117–A.D. 138. It flourished until the time of the Christian Emperors. It was built in the capital, and its whole conception seems to have been suggested by the Museum or University of Alexandria, already mentioned. It had “ten chairs for Latin gram-

mar, ten for Greek, three for Latin rhetoric, five for Greek, one—some say three—for philosophy, two or four for Roman law ; professorships of medicine were also added.
. . . Under grammar were included knowledge of language and metre, criticism and history.” The studies of a Roman youth began with elements at the age of seven. Having completed his primary course, he was sent at fourteen to the Athenæum or other public academy for the cultivation of oratory, mathematics, philosophy and law. At the age of twenty he was supposed to have finished his studies, though even that time was prorogued for five years in favor of those who desired to pursue letters or jurisprudence as specialties. As a result of the facilities which these institutions for higher education afforded, multitudes of students, when they had completed their studies in the provincial districts, flocked to Rome in quest of its exceptional advantages. They hailed from Spain and Gaul and Africa ; and not a few

of them, foreigners though they were, have by their immortal writings shed a glory upon the history of Roman literature. Thus from Spain came the two Senecas, Lucan, Martial and Quintilian. From Gaul, Ausonius and Sidonius Apollinaris. From Africa, Arnobius, Lucius Apulius and Aurelius Victor. The massing together of so many young men at one point was, of course, fraught with great danger, moral danger especially, to themselves and no end of annoyance to public authorities. Accordingly we find that the legislation regarding them was both plentiful and stringent. They were required to bring from the provincial governor of the locality from which they came proper testimonials of introduction and recommendation. They were to be under constant surveillance during their stay at the metropolis, and, in case of flagrant misdemeanor, were to be publicly beaten with rods and sent home. They were amenable to the civil officers, who were required to furnish the Emperor with monthly

reports, giving all necessary information regarding the number of students in attendance, their homes and condition, their progress, their conduct, with the names of the latest arrivals, as also of those who, their time having expired, were to be sent back whence they came. The rules governing the professors were equally strict. To the advantages which these schools afforded, many a Christian champion, like Tertullian, Jerome, Basil, Augustine and Gregory, owed the brilliant classical training which they brought with them into the Church. This system of imperial schools lasted until the end of the seventh century in Gaul, Italy, Spain, and in every part of the Roman world. "In Italy," says Ozanam, "till the eleventh century, lay teachers pursued their course side by side with the ecclesiastical schools, as if to unite the end of the old imperial system to the origin of that of the universities, and especially to the University of Bologna, which, in spite of the difference from

one another and from the old schools of the Empire, perpetuated the public methods of antiquity through a privileged professoriate and an universally accessible system of instruction.¹”

When Christianity became under Constantine the religion of the Empire, these public schools were opened to Christians, though they still retained the “old methods, subjects of instruction, and, to a very considerable extent, the old spirit.” Paganism was not to be so easily dislodged, and in spite of the efforts of Christian Emperors, notably Constantine, Valentinian, Gratian, Honorius and Theodosius, the old civilization, with its admixture of good and evil, still clung to its ancient haunts. Its struggle for a more protracted life against Christianity, which it viewed as an intruder, manifested itself nowhere more violently than in the class-room. Hence the animated controversy which arose amongst the rulers of the Church as to the advis-

¹ *Civilization in the Fifth Century*, vol. i, p. 195

ability, not to say permissibility, of allowing Christian children to attend such institutions where a three-fold danger seemed to threaten them—the paganism of the text-books, of their companions, and of their teachers. As we follow the discussion, and it is well worth the following, since it was a typical “battle of the giants,” we are reminded that school controversies, even within the Church, are by no means an exclusive product of nineteenth century inventiveness. So far removed from the environments of those days, it were impossible for us to pass upon the absolute merits of the case. There must have been valid reasons on both sides, since we find Saint Chrysostom and Saint Augustine in opposite camps. Saint Jerome, though brought up in similar schools himself, and although it has been said of him that “he read Cicero while he fasted and devoured Plautus whilst he bewailed his sins,” was at first opposed to the idea, and denounced it in no very measured

terms. Subsequently, however, he seems to have veered, and, notwithstanding his resolution to eschew pagan literature and its cultivation, we find him in his old age teaching the classics and making his monks copy the "Dialogues of Cicero," while, as we also read, he carried with him on his journey to Jerusalem a copy of Plato, so as not to lose time on the road. Saint Chrysostom, who had every facility for acquiring a full knowledge of the character of the schools in question, and would certainly have been the last to under-rate literary accomplishment, sums up his views in an eloquent passage, whose appositeness at all times will be our apology for quoting it at length. "If you have masters amongst you," he writes, "who can answer for the virtue of your children, I should be very far from advocating your sending them to a monastery; on the contrary, I should strongly insist on their remaining where they are. But if no one can give such a guarantee, we

ought not to send children to schools where they will learn vice before they learn science, and where, in acquiring learning of relatively small value, they will lose what is far more precious, their integrity of soul. . . . Are we, then, to give up literature? you will exclaim. I do not say that, but I do say we must not kill souls. . . . When the foundations of a building are sapped, we should seek rather for architects to reconstruct the whole edifice than for artists to adorn the walls. In fact, the choice lies between two alternatives—a liberal education, which you may get by sending your children to the public schools, or the salvation of their souls, which you get by sending them to the monks. Which is to gain the day, science or the soul? If you can unite both advantages, do so by all means ; but if not, choose the most precious.”¹ Golden words, truly, from a golden mouth ! “ If you can unite both advantages, do so

¹ *Chrys. Op.*, vol. i., pp. 115-122, Ed., Gaume. Quoted from *Christian Schools and Scholars*, p. 19.

by all means," furnishes us, likely, with the keynote of the situation as it was in actual practice. It was not the intention of either party to forego the benefits accruing from the study of pagan classics, when that study was conducted with due caution. That they were at one on the subject properly understood was made apparent when Julian the Apostate, A.D. 362, issued his decree inhibiting to Christians the study of pagan authors even in private, hypocritically observing that since they cared nothing for the divinities and precepts of paganism, they could spend their time much more usefully in the perusal of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. Forgetful for the nonce of their own differences, the Christians rallied to a unit in their opposition to it, with Saint Augustine, Saint Basil, and particularly Saint Gregory Nazianzen, who had been a classmate of Julian's, in the forefront. So crushing was the antagonism developed that Valentinian, a successor of Julian, was driven to

revoke it. As long as it was in operation the early fathers and doctors, in their zeal for classical instruction, wrote imitations of the Greek and Latin models for school purposes, that youth might not be altogether deprived of the advantages which only the classics could afford. Gregory Nazianzen alone, we are informed, wrote 30,000 lines of verse for class exercise. This speaks for itself, and, to say the least, may be assumed as a qualification of Hallam's statement that the decline of Latin literature, in the fourth and fifth centuries, was largely due to the fact that "a dislike of pagan learning was pretty general among Christians." Such a statement will meet with little credence from those who recall the galaxy of classical scholars who figured in the Church during the period in question, and who have taken their position in the world of letters, to be read and heralded long after Mr. Hallam and his attempts at history have been forgotten. Gregory of Neo-Caesarea, Basil of

Cappadocia, Athanasius and Cyril of Alexandria, Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory of Nazianzum, Jerome, Chrysostom of Antioch, and Augustine of Hippo, are a few of the luminaries who shone in that age in which we are asked to believe that Christians were hostile to the cultivation of the classics. We are not unaware that they did oppose the study of pagan literature in schools, and that the Church even formulated adverse decrees upon the subject ; but the teaching so antagonized was such as had no safeguard or saving quality, a fact which, like many another fact, Mr. Hallam and his set too readily overlook. Thus, though the public schools afforded new opportunities for the acquisition of secular learning, and in many ways were a benefit to the early Church, and as such were frequented and defended by many of her most renowned children, yet, as they were tainted with paganism and remained so until their final extinction in the sixth century under Justinian, or maybe later, it is

impossible to trace through them the line of direct Christian educational development. Accordingly, we must seek for it elsewhere.

While the schools of the Empire fell a prey to the universal decline and destruction which swept everything before them, or lived on, as some will have it in the case of a few, through the turmoil of centuries as a scarcely discernible link in the chain of historical occurrences, the Episcopal and Monastic schools, which had arisen under very different auspices and had quite other missions in the providence of God, continued to thrive—at first in secret and later in the broad light of day, and always in close touch with the widening conditions of human life and affairs. We have seen how the earliest bishops of the Church, and even the Apostles, converted their houses into schools for the education of aspirants to the ministry. The custom, far from becoming obsolete, was universally prevalent during the first centuries, and some of the most

venerated names of Christian antiquity are those of men who had been brought up after this fashion. Saint Chrysostom, Saint Cyril and Saint Athanasius may be mentioned as cases in point. The earliest authentic decretal, that of Pope Siricius, issued in 385, as well as later pronouncements by other Pontiffs, alludes to them, and leaves no doubt that they were conducted under proper ecclesiastical supervision. The introduction, in the fourth century, of the monastic life from the East, where it had long flourished, into the West, added new features to the already existing Episcopal or Cathedral schools. The community life which they practised assumed a more regular form. The bishop's residence became a sort of monastery in this sense, that the students who made his house their home and school were brought up on strict and well-defined lines of religious discipline. The bishop taught them in person. Where that was not possible he employed a substitute, usually a cleric. When

the number of scholars in attendance became unwieldy, as sometimes happened, the church was devoted to class purposes, the students still continuing to reside under the same roof with the bishop. Saint Augustine at Hippo; Saint Ambrose at Milan and Saint Eusebius at Arles had flourishing Episcopal schools of this description, which became renowned in history for the excellence of their training and the general patronage which they commanded. With time their curriculum, meagre at first and confined to ecclesiastical studies, was extended until it embraced not merely such branches as were needful for the state of life contemplated, but such others, also, as went to make up a liberal education as then understood. Everything, in fact, that was taught in the municipal schools was included in their program as far as it was at all available for Christian use. For instance, the famous school attached to the Cathedral of Seville and established by Saint Leander, the bishop,

and perfected by his brother and successor, Saint Isidore, A. D. 630, had a staff of Latin, Greek and Hebrew professors, and, in imitation of the imperial schools, taught mathematics, law and medicine. Yet, whatever may have been their number, whatever may have been their proficiency, like the civil schools, they fell a prey to the vicissitudes of the times and disappeared. Difficult, nay impossible as it is to trace their history in unbroken sequence through the turbulent period of the fourth and fifth centuries, when the process of universal social and political disintegration had set in, yet the occasional glimpses which we catch of them through the intervals of gathering gloom are more than sufficient to assure us that they were still at work in the cause of learning, and that at a juncture when all seemed hopelessly lost. In these Episcopal institutions we behold the germ of what was to become the Seminary of later days. At what precise moment after their re-establishment they began to be

formally recognized and legislated for as seminaries by the Church is wholly uncertain. The first intimation of any decree on the subject seems to be that of the second Council of Toledo, issued A.D. 531. Its provisions are detailed and ample, so much so that we cannot but believe that Episcopal schools, even anterior to that date, had been looked upon as seminaries, in our modern understanding of the term.¹

¹ We will give, at the risk of anticipating, Cardinal Newman's brief *resumé* of the subject in hand: "As seminaries," he says, "are so necessary to the Church, they are one of its earliest appointments. Scarcely had the New Dispensation opened, when, following the example of the schools of the Temple and of the Prophets under the Old, Saint John is recorded, over and above the public assemblies of the faithful, to have had about him a number of students whom he familiarly instructed; and as time went and power was given to the Church this school for ecclesiastical learning was placed under the roof of the Bishop. In Rome especially, where we look for the pattern to which other churches are to be conformed, the clergy, not of the city only, but of the province, were brought under the immediate eye of the Pope. The Lateran Church, his first Cathedral, had a seminary attached to it, which remained there until the Pontificate of Leo the Tenth, when it was transferred into the heart of the city. The students entered within the walls from the earliest childhood; but they were not raised from minor orders till the age of twenty, nor did they reach the priesthood till after the trial of many years. Strict as a monastic novitiate, it nevertheless included polite literature in its course, and a library was attached to it for the use of the Seminarists. Here was educated, about the year 310, Saint Eusebius, afterward, in Arian times, the celebrated Bishop of Vercelli; and in the dark age which followed it was the home from childhood of some of the greatest Popes—Saint Greg-

Simultaneously with the development of Episcopal or Cathedral schools founded for clerics, we notice another growth in progress, namely, that of the monastic schools for the laity. Even the first solitaries of the desert at times received for instruction children committed to their training; and from the very birth of monasticism under Saint Anthony and Saint Pachomius provision had been made for the education of the young by the institution of what were known as the interior and exterior schools—the former intended for such as aspired to the monastic

ory the Second, Saint Paul the First, Saint Leo the Third, Saint Paschal and Saint Nicholas the First. This venerable seminary, called anciently the School of the Pontifical Palace has never failed. Even when the barbarians were wasting the face of Italy and destroying its accumulations of literature, the great Council of Rome, under Pope Agatho . . . could testify, not indeed to the theological science of the school in that miserable age, but to its faithful preservation of the unbroken teaching of revealed truth and of the traditions of the Fathers. In the thirteenth century we find it in a flourishing condition, and Saint Thomas and Albertus Magnus lecturing in its halls. Such a prerogative of perpetuity was not enjoyed elsewhere. Europe lay submerged under the waters of a deluge, and when they receded schools had to be re-founded as well as Churches." *Hist. Sket.*, vol. iii., p. 241. The baneful effect which the establishment of the Mediæval Universities, long years after, had upon the Seminaries, and the legislation of the Council of Trent regarding them, will be a subject of later remark.

life, the latter for those who entertained no such idea, but could not or would not, because of the danger, avail themselves of the advantages of the State Schools, or of the private "Adventure Schools," of which there were many. Saint Basil, like Pachomius before him, allowed children to be received into the monasteries to be educated, and laid down rules for their proper government. The passage just cited from Saint Chrysostom shows that monastery schools were common in his day, A.D. 344, and in high repute. When monasticism passed from the East to the West, among the traditions which it retained was that of schools. This transition dates from the advent of Saint Athanasius to Rome, A.D. 340. Having been frequently exiled by Constantine and Constantius because of his stanch defense of the Divinity of Jesus Christ against the Arians, he spent much of his time in the Thebaid. There he met the early Cenobites, and familiarized himself with their practices. Coming to Rome,

he circulated a report of what he had witnessed in the desert, and wrote the life of Saint Anthony, with whom he had conversed.¹ The Romans, weary with centuries of bloodshed and dissipation, listened with anxious avidity to the recital, and multitudes, even of the nobility, embraced the life which he had been the first to proclaim in their midst. The idea grew, as fruitful ideas must, and ere many years had elapsed Italy teemed with monasteries, whose erection was largely due to the zeal of Eusebius, Bishop of Vercelli, who, like Athanasius, had been exiled from the East for his bold advocacy of the truth. Inspired by the writings of Athanasius, and burning to emulate him, Saint Martin of Tours introduced monasticism from Italy into Gaul, A.D. 360, by the establishment of the Monasteries of Ligugé and Marmoutier, in which latter retreat the Apostle of Ireland had his lips cleansed with the coal of fire which

¹ It is to this life that Saint Augustine so feelingly alludes in his *Confessions*, B. viii., c. 6.

kindled the faith in the land of saints and scholars. Germanus and Lupus in Britain, Ninian in Scotland, Patrick in Ireland, Cassian in Marseilles, Honoratus in Lerins, are all suggestive of the rapid dissemination of monastic life in western Europe, and, by inference, of cloistral schools, its invariable accompaniment, and that even prior to the time when educational work in the West fell entirely into the hands of the Church. It is not difficult to perceive that the monastic schools were the real channels that preserved intact the truths of Christianity, and a vast improvement, at the moment of their all but total extinction, upon anything that had preceded. They effected with less brilliancy but greater security what the Alexandrians had accomplished, but were unable to perpetuate, the fusion of Christian learning with pagan lore. How they would have prospered had they flourished in tranquility it were difficult to say ; but, like everything else, they were doomed to suffer from the stress of the times.

The fifth century was drawing to a close. The transfer of the seat of government from Rome to Byzantium years before A.D. 330, had furnished the wild hordes of the North with the opportunity they had so long awaited. It weakened the Western Empire, and the barbarians who for centuries had been prowling upon the confines of the Roman domain realized that their hour had come, and in numberless legions streamed in upon the fair fields of central and southern Europe. Two centuries had not elapsed from their first eruption before they had ravaged Thrace, Pannonia, Gaul, Spain, Africa and Italy. First came the Goth, next the Hun, and finally the Lombard. What one spared the other devoured. Everything perished on their march. Art, science, literature—in a word—the rich inheritance of Greek and Roman splendor, the accumulated dowry of ages of toilsome industry, all were swept away. The municipal and imperial schools were destroyed, the Episcopal schools disap-

peared, and the cloistral schools were all but annihilated. The evil, with no force to check it, increased until the overthrow of the Emperor Augustulus, A.D. 476, by Odoacer, chief of the Heruli, announced the downfall of the Western Empire. The hour of midnight had struck, and whatever random light still flickered in the firmament of letters only emphasized the darkness while hastening to its own speedy and ominous setting. As we gaze upon the desolate situation, and contrast the widely different fates of the pagan and Christian schools, we are reminded of the words of M. Guizot, spoken of the two systems in general: "The activity and intellectual strength of the two societies," he says, "were prodigiously unequal. With its institutions, its professors, its privileges, the one was nothing and did nothing; while, with its simple ideas, the other incessantly labored and seized upon everything."¹ Yes, the Church seized upon whatever learn-

¹ *History of Civilization*, vol. i., p. 361 et seq.

ing remained, and kept diligent watch over it throughout the carnage and confusion which followed. Her monastic schools, though many had been destroyed and all were jeopardized, continued their work. Like the bird which flees before the gathering storm and seeks refuge in the quiet and retired depths of some leafy covert until the clouds are dissipated and it can once more preen its wings for another and more auspicious flight, what was left of education took shelter in the monasteries, which were now scattered up and down the length and breadth of Europe—in England, in Ireland, in Germany; in Wales, in France, in Spain, in Italy, in Scotland—everywhere—there to await the glad summons of its resurrection to a broader and more efficient field of enterprise. How it fared throughout its centuries of retirement, and what promises it held in deposit of that future civilization of which we are to-day so boastful, will be the purpose of a subsequent chapter to describe.

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THE REFORMATION
AND EDUCATION

(1520—1648)

BY THE
REV. EUGENE MAGEVNEY, S. J.

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The Reformation and Education.

(1520-1648.)

WITH the accession of Nicholas V. to the throne of St. Peter, in the year 1446, the golden age of the Renaissance began. The spirit, no less than the principles of Humanism had been long at work. Even under the two preceding reigns of Martin V. and Eugenius IV, they are beheld actively engaged winning advocates and making foes and laying deep the foundations of the mighty changes which were so soon to follow, but of which few, if any, at the time had the remotest suspicion. Himself a humanist and a great patron of letters, Nicholas was alive to the necessity of reviving a learning, which, rightly understood, could not fail to serve a valuable religious and moral as well as intellectual purpose. Acting upon this conviction, he exerted from the outset the full force of his personal

influence and official prestige to make Rome, and with it the Church, the great controlling centre of the new forces coming into play. Every encouragement was given to proficiency in the various departments of literature, science and art. Preferments and rewards were lavishly bestowed. The corners of the earth were ransacked for manuscripts and tomes with which to stock the Vatican library, which his munificence had founded; and for monuments and antiquities of all sorts with which to grace the public roads and gardens and buildings of the Eternal City. Money was no consideration in the face of evident needs, and the comprehensive views of one whose appreciation took in at a single glance and with equal facility the dirt-begrimed fragment of some long-lost classic and the architectural proportions of St. Peter's, which he was the first to conceive and plan as a substitute for the venerable but inartistic and crumbling basilica of Constantine.

As water seeks its level, as the needle seeks the pole, so genius instinctively seeks the company of genius; and it is no matter of surprise to find that under such favorable influences, fostered with little interruption, for well

nigh a century, Christian learning should have flowered to its mightiest in the immortal personages of an Angelo, a Raphael, a Titian, or a Fra Angelico. Painting and sculpture and architecture thrilled to a new life. In literature especially was the progress marked. The classics, Greek, Latin, Arabic, and Hebrew, were sought out, translated, pondered, and imitated. Prose works were multiplied. Poetry in particular was carried to a marvelous degree of refinement in the case of some, the music of whose rhythmic productions still sounds like a lost chord caught from the majestic harmonies of a Virgil, a Theocritus, or a Homer. Poggio, Valla and Alberti; Guarino, Aurispa, and Filelfo; Pomponius Laetus, Sylvius, and Platina; Tortello and Decembrio, not to mention others, are names immediately suggestive of a literary polish the like of which the world had never seen on such a magnificent scale since the days of Pericles and Augustus. All in all, this revival, so popular and so rapid, was a wide-spread one, whose growth, upon the lines sanctioned by Nicholas and not a few of his successors, would have led in due season to incalculable and none but beneficial results.

Was the movement an altogether new one? No. Its brilliant development under Nicholas and, later, its culmination under Leo X, were but the far-off results of a process of intellectual industry and assimilation which had been going on for generations. In the Universities of Bologna and Salerno, and the monastic retreat of Le Bec—the birthplaces, respectively, of legal, medical, and theological science in the western world—we behold the first and feeble dawnings of a reaction breaking through the darkness and stagnation of centuries. The great scholastic agitation, with its endless and acrimonious controversies, seemed for awhile to divert interest and attention from it into other channels. But with the fall of Constantinople (1453) and the consequent influx of Greek thought and language into Europe, it took on a newer and still more ardent life, and once again, from out the distant past, evoked the genius of Petrarch and Boccaccio, its brightest offsprings and highest exponents.

Under Nicholas the Renaissance was fully under way, understanding by the term, of course, not an absolute re-birth of literary and artistic sense, for such it was not, but

the creation of a boundless zest and marvelous grace and finish in concept and execution. "Taken absolutely," says Guizot, "and as implying a Renaissance following upon a decay of science, literature, and art, the expression is exaggerated and goes beyond the truth; it is not true that the five centuries which rolled by between the establishment of the Capetians and the accession of Francis I. (987-1515) were a period of intellectual barrenness and decay; the Middle Ages, amidst the anarchy, violence and calamities of their social condition, had in philosophy, literature, and art works of their own and a glory of their own which lacked not originality, or brilliancy, or influence over subsequent ages."¹ Begun in Italy, the movement was not slow in making itself felt in other countries of Europe. Scholars from Germany, France, Spain, and the Netherlands, from everywhere, in fact, flocked to the banks of the Tiber to become imbued with the principles of that advanced culture which was to affect so largely the educational no less than the sociological destinies of the world.

But, like most good things, it had

¹ "History of France," Vol. VII, c. 29, p. 143
Edit. 1874. 8 vols.

to be abused. Many, mistaking its purpose, and betrayed by the seductiveness of paganism, sought in it the gratification born of the purely material and sensual. The rich mines of ancient lore, which were now being opened up, were traversed by them, not so much for their priceless charms of thought and word, as for the shocking obscenities in which they abounded. It thus chanced that, side by side with the Christian Renaissance, there stole into existence a stream of heathen tendency, which deepened and widened as the years lapsed, and did so much to prepare the world for the catastrophe of the sixteenth century. It was discernible in the reign of Nicholas and earlier, but was kept under control, as it had not yet assumed the strength which it was so soon to acquire. What was faulty in the movement the Church emphatically condemned and from the start. Individuals here and individuals there, it is true, some of them even high in her councils and entrusted with the administration of her affairs, deceived by the factitious charms of a false beauty and a be-lying taste, connived too much at what more delicate consciences instinctively shunned. But the Church

as such never did and never could affix the seal of her sanction to a spirit that not only was not hers, but was destined to become the baneful source of so many of her woes, and her relentless enemy throughout all time.

It has been said that the Renaissance period in Italy was "the classical age of conspiracies and tyrannicides." It was not long before the truth of this saying was brought home to the Church's own doors. Nicholas V., and after him Paul II. were made to realize the fact in the precautions which it became necessary for them to take against the contemplated attacks upon their lives and temporal sovereignty. The conspiracy of Stefano Porcaro (1453) and that of Platina (1464), not to speak of the wholesale demoralization which they and their pagan confederates had wrought, were indication enough of the logical trend of the new heathenism and its irreconcilability with the teachings of Christianity. Stringent measures eventually became necessary, and stringent measures were adopted. The power of the Papacy, and even that of the secular arm were invoked to stem the evil, without, however, shackling the movement in so far as it was good and praiseworthy.



A Catholic reaction thus set in, which succeeded in driving it from the ranks of Catholicism, where it was out of place, to those of Protestantism, in which at the beginning it seemed to have found a natural ally. We say "at the beginning," for, before long, they parted company in the persons of Luther and Hutten. Though at one in their hatred of scholasticism and Rome, the heathenism of the humanists could ill brook the fragments of Catholic truth to which the Reformers still clung; while the unaesthetic temperament of Luther and his positive antipathy to higher studies more than shocked the sensibilities and aspirations of the New Learning and gave rise to the well-known saying—
"Ubi cumque regnat Lutheranismus; ibi Litterarum est interitus."

Nor was the Renaissance alone in its warfare upon purity and truth. It found an ally in the spirit of intellectual pride and rebellious skepticism, as old as it was contumacious, and as destructive as it was treacherous. We meet with an early manifestation of it at the Court of Charles the Bald (A. D. 840), in the person of Scotus Erigena, whose heresies the Church was forced to condemn. It cropped

up again in Berengarius and Abelard—in the Albigenses—the Hussites and the Lollards, and became world-wide, so to speak, at the time of the Western Schism, as any one familiar with the history of the Councils of Constance and Basle, and the defiant spirit of the times will immediately recall. Thus sensuality and pride went hand in hand to meet the Reformation, which welcomed them both, and bodied forth their cardinal principles in its gospel of Rationalism and Naturalism. When we read the story of the Reformation and philosophize upon the destructive character of some of its pet principles, such as the right of private judgment, total depravity, and justification by faith alone, we marvel that they should have met with such ready acceptance at the hands, not merely of individuals, but even of entire nations. There is no reason, however, to marvel, if we bear in mind that people, as individuals, reap what they sow, and that the sixteenth century was but the harvest of which the fourteenth and fifteenth had been the spring-tide and the summer-time.

But what, it will be asked, has all this got to do with education. An immense deal. It is the keynote of

the Reformation, and must be sounded as a prelude, if we would understand aright either the philosophy of that discordant epoch, or the history of education from that day to this. So popular did this skeptical, this heathenish revival become, and so bold, that its success was as pronounced as it was regrettable. As early as 1520, it had permeated nearly all the great universities and schools of secondary education throughout Italy and elsewhere, especially in Germany. The spirit grew, and its attitude, whether in the daily walks of student life, or upon the professor's chair, was one of revolt against custom, authority and tradition. Everything in the literary and artistic, and, as far as possible, in the social order, was to be revolutionized, that the Rome of the Popes might be metamorphosed into that of the Cæsars. Classical Latin had to be substituted for Church Latin. Chairs of Roman and Grecian literature and language were founded. Greek was incorporated in the Department of Arts. Scholasticism was scouted as a mere network of dialectical refinings as endless as they were useless. The intellectual giants of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—writers of the

tremendous calibre of Duns Scotus, Albertus Magnus, and Aquinas—were ridiculed as out of date and place, and that, too, by a tribe of dilettanti, with whom literary snobbery and affectation were but too frequently mistaken for culture and sound sense. The writings of the early Fathers, of Jerome, and Augustine, and Chrysostom, were set down as crude and altogether at variance with the canons of reformed classical taste. Plato, whom they particularly affected, and Aristotle might be tolerated, if shorn of the barbarous Latin jargon in which they had been cast. Even the Bible had become tedious, and was far from being as interesting as Cicero, Cæsar, or Quintus Curtius. The Church herself, with her priesthood, her Orders, her ceremonial, her symbolical life, her theology, and her discipline, had grown intolerably monotonous. There was but one desideratum, and that was the complete re-inthronement of pagan thought, morals and manners.

It is not difficult to imagine what effect such a radical spirit, working through two hundred years, must have had in the lecture-hall and school-room, into which it forced itself early, and where it was

holding high carnival when the summons to revolt was sounded. Nor were its effects to be short-lived. As we have remarked, it was to live on even after the Reformation had practically become a thing of the past, and leave its impress upon the whole subsequent political and social character of European life and thought, manifesting itself nowhere more emphatically and with sadder results than in the field of pedagogics. It has tainted the educational policy of the non-Catholic world ever since. It lives and breathes in the so-called systems which have multiplied so profusely within the last few hundred years. We meet with it in the theories of Sturm, Ratisch, Franke, and Comenius; in those of Basedow, Pestalozzi, Froebel, and Jacotot. It is painfully discernible in Rousseau and Rabelais, Montaigne and Milton, Arnold and Herbart, and other speculators upon the subject. Its darker influence is traceable in the background of what is so often improperly styled "the philosophy of education," from the sensism of John Locke to the utilitarianism of Alexander Bain, or the agnosticism of Herbert Spencer. And it lives, not as an accidental concomitant either, but as the

soul and centre of views which *have* played and *are* playing no small part in the intellectual evolution of the world.

But if the spirit of the heathen Renaissance survived, and is still surviving, that of the Christian has not been less vital. It also has bequeathed a heritage to posterity. Bravely has it struggled through good and evil report, and to-day, as centuries ago, furnishes the world with the principles which alone can harmonize, in a perfect concept, the good, the beautiful, and the true.

We often hear it said, and with an astonishing air of triumph, particularly by special pleaders of the stamp of D'Aubigné and Michelet, that the pre-Reformation period was dark beyond description. There was a deplorable lack of educational facilities and of intellectual culture, so we are told. It was not till Luther shed the light of his transcendent genius upon the world that it awoke to that appreciation of knowledge and of scientific investigation which has since proved the secret of its phenomenal advance. This, however, is mere assumption and talk. Honest Protestant writers have long since realized it, with the result that a perceptible

change has been wrought in the critical character of modern historical research.

The facts are briefly these. They speak for themselves and are above suspicion, as they have been gathered in the main from exclusively non-Catholic sources. At the time of Luther's secession, in 1520, there were in Europe 72 universities, all of them Catholic, of course, distributed as follows: 20 in France, 15 in Germany, 15 in Italy, 7 in Spain, 3 in Scotland, 2 in Austria, Switzerland and England respectively, and one in Belgium, Portugal, Poland, Hungary, Denmark and Sweden. Around most of these universities, notably those of Paris, Bologna, Oxford, Cambridge, Padua, Pavia, Vienna, Prague, Louvain, and later Alcala, a system of schools and colleges had been developed. They filled so evident a want that they multiplied rapidly. Paris had over 60; Louvain 40; Oxford, inclusive of Halls, over 300, and so on. In the vicinity of these same universities the various religious Orders and Congregations—Benedictines, Dominicans, Carmelites, Cistercians, Franciscans, Augustinians, Trinitarians, Premonstratensians and others had established houses of study for

their own members—a custom which we already meet with in the eighth century, and which in the thirteenth had become general. In the same localities the bishops had erected seminaries for the advanced training of aspirants to the diocesan priesthood. In the shadow of nearly every Episcopal residence stood a Cathedral school or little seminary, where youths received, under the eye of the Ordinary, a preliminary ecclesiastical training. In every parish, in well-nigh every village, parochial schools were flourishing. There were thirty such schools for girls alone in Paris as early as the fourteenth century. And be it remembered that these schools had been established, not at the option of the clergy, but by a series of synodical ordinations stretching from the sixth to the sixteenth century. The Council of Vaison in 529; that of Mayence in 800; that of Rome in 826; the Third Council of Lateran in 1179; and that of Lyons in 1215, were amongst those that framed decrees on the subject, not only providing education for the masses, but supplying it *gratis*, and thus anticipating the modern free school idea by nearly fifteen centuries.

Moreover, Europe was peopled with

monasteries. In England, at the time of the dissolution, not to mention others, there were 114 Cistercian, 65 Franciscan and 58 Dominican monasteries. Most of them had schools for day scholars and boarders attached, some of which were quite advanced and are still celebrated as such in the history of those times. So great was the zest for learning that in many of them, as Venerable Bede narrates of Yarrow, the children of the poorest were not only educated free of charge, but were housed, fed and clothed at the expense of the cloister. "They (the monasteries) were schools of learning and education; for every convent had one person or more appointed for this purpose; and all the neighbors that desired it might have their children taught grammar and Church music without any expense to them. In the nunneries also young women were taught to work and to read English, and sometimes Latin also. So that not only the lower rank of people who could not pay for their learning, but most of the noblemen's and gentlemen's daughters were educated in those places."²

² *Notitia Monastica*, Tanner. Quoted from "A History of the Reformation in England and Ireland." C. IV Cobbett.

Nor were the parochial or monastic schools the only provision made for primary and secondary education. The Hieronymites or Gregorians or "Brothers of the Common Life," as they are usually designated, founded by Gerard Groote or Gerard the Great, in 1384, were active in the cause of Catholic education, and bore no little "resemblance" says the Protestant Buckingham, "to the Christian Brothers of our day." They spread rapidly through Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, France, and Flanders, and counted on their roll of tutors many of exceptional ability, such as Alexander Hegius, John Cochlaeus, and Jacob Wimpheling, surnamed the "educator of Germany." At Zwolle they had 800 pupils; at Atmaar 900; at Hertzogenbusch 1,200, and at Deventer, in the year 1500, 2,200 under instruction. For more than half a century before the Reformation they had utilized the art of printing to put the treasures of classical literature within easy reach of students. In their colleges they taught Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Mathematics. In their elementary schools, reading, writing, catechism, and certain mechanical arts, the early adumbration of that industrial train-

ing which De La Salle was to carry to such perfection in after years, and which the nineteenth century would try to assume as the almost exclusive product of its own unparalleled enlightenment.

There were, in addition, Chantries and Chaptral schools. Education in these latter was not always free, which rendered them doubtless a whit more select. We meet with them at Courtrai, Namur, Ghent, Antwerp, Ypres and elsewhere. There were eleven of them in Brussels in 1320—"one Superior for each sex, four primary for girls, and five primary for boys." Add to these the communal schools conducted at the public expense and in operation in Holland as early as the thirteenth century. Besides there was the endowed school in villages and poorer districts. "The endowments," says Leach, "were confiscated by the State (at the Reformation), and many still line the pockets of the descendants of the statesmen of those days."³ Moreover, convent schools were numerous and in charge of Benedictine, Dominican, Franciscan and Beguin nuns. Finally, we meet with private "ad-

³ "School Supply in the Middle Ages." Contemporary Review, Vol. 66.

venture schools," either resident or shifting from place to place as the wandering propensities or pecuniary necessities of the pedagogue in charge might suggest or demand.

Pupils flocked to those mediæval schools in multitudes that seem almost fabulous by contrast with the meagre attendance upon our modern universities and colleges. Giants like Scotus, Aquinas and Albert the Great lectured in their halls. Amongst their students we meet with geniuses and polite scholars like Dante, Chaucer, Roger Bacon, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Thomas of Canterbury, More, Pole, Erasmus, Fisher, John of Salisbury, Thomas à Kempis and his famous protégé Rudolph Agricola, styled, even by the Italians, the Virgil of Germany. Historical characters like Dominic, Bonaventure and Francis of Assisi, were identified with their progress. The monuments of learning which still fill our libraries, the product of those ages and which have never been approached, much less equalled, in breadth and profundity, are irrefutable witnesses to the high order of mental cultivation then in vogue. Not to mention an endless array of theological and philosophical works, the Complutensian

Polyglot of Ximenez, edited in 1502, including the Chaldaic, Hebraic, Greek and Latin versions of Holy Writ, is of itself sufficient proof of the boundless research and critical acumen of the day.

“There is no question,” says Huber, the German historian of the English universities, and a Protestant, “that during the Middle Ages the English universities were distinguished, *far more than afterwards*, by energy and variety of intellect. . . Later times cannot produce a concentration of men eminent in all the learning and science of their age such as Oxford and Cambridge then poured forth, mightily influencing the intellectual development of all Western Christendom.”⁴ “There is not the smallest doubt,” says Mr. Arthur Leach, also a Protestant and a recognized authority, “that the provision for *secondary education* was far greater in proportion to population during the Middle Ages than it has ever been since. . . From the university to the village school every educational institution was an ecclesiastical one, and those who governed it, and taught it, were ecclesiastics. Every village par-

⁴ History of the English Universities, Vol. I, c. 8. Italics ours.

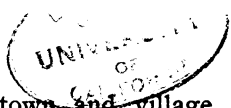
son was, or ought to have been, an elementary schoolmaster; every collegiate church kept a secondary school, and every Cathedral Church maintained in early days a small university. . . The result was, that as the Church was ubiquitous, so education was in some form ubiquitous, if not universal. As a consequence, secondary schools were found in almost every place in which they were required.”⁵ “In any case,” he continues, “the contrast between one grammar school to every 5,625 people, and that presented by the Schools’ Inquiry Report (1867) of one to every 23,750 people, is not flattering to ourselves. In regard to secondary education we cannot justly echo the Homeric boast that we are much better than our forefathers.”⁶ He says again: “We are not here concerned with *elementary* education, but it is certain that it was well provided for.” “Long before the Reformation,” says Barnard, speaking of Scotland, “all the principal towns had grammar schools, in which the Latin language was taught; besides which they had ‘lecture schools’ in which children

⁵ *Loc. cit.* Italics ours.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*

were instructed to read the vernacular tongue.”

In spite of this and much more that might be quoted, even from Protestant sources, we are gravely informed that it was Luther who let in light upon this worse than cimmerian darkness. His coming was the dayspring breaking upon the night of centuries and liberating men from an intellectual thralldom to which they had been subjected for years. The statement is a gross burlesque upon the truth, and would be laughable but for the tragic associations which it conjures up. If he accomplished so much as an educational reformer, it certainly should not be difficult to arrive at the secret of his wonderful success. Was it due perhaps to the encouragement which he gave to educational enterprises? No. His work in this respect, as we shall see, was one of demolition and not of construction. Was it because he was the founder of popular education? No. From what has been said, it is evident that he was no more the founder of popular education than Julius Cæsar was the inventor of the telescope, or Nabuchodonosor of the steam engine. Popular education was centuries old before he was born. When he came, schools abounded in



nearly every city, town and village. He himself attended one of them for a year at Mansfeld at the age of fourteen, going thence to another at Magdeburg, and later for four years to Eisenach, in the vicinity of his native place, Eisleben, in which town there were three churches, to each of which a school was attached. His advanced studies were made at the University of Erfurt, from which he took his degree of Master of Arts in 1505. We are told that as a student his favorites among the classics were Cicero, Livy, Virgil and Plautus, which shows incidentally that in the department of belles-lettres some at least of the schools of those days were quite up to the standard. Was it by the translation and dissemination of the Bible in the vernacular? No. For seventy editions of the Bible had been printed and put into circulation before his appeared in 1530. Of these, twenty were in the German language. Was it due possibly to the profound character of his writings? No. Nothing was more foreign to his works than depth. So lacking, in fact, were they in mental equipose and logical clear-sightedness that they soon became the fruitful source of religious contradictions and disputes. His writings

abound in what Schlegel has aptly designated "barbaro-polemic eloquence." Hallam speaks of certain of his treatises as mere "bellowing in bad Latin," and adds that while we cannot fail to notice and be disgusted by "their intemperance, their coarseness, their inelegance, their scurrility, their wild paradoxes, that menace the foundations of religious morality," "the clear and comprehensive line of argument which enlightens the reader's understanding and resolves his difficulties is always wanting." Was it that he was the first to unite religion and education? No. That had been done from the outset by the early monks, and prior to them even by the hermits in the desert. Prayer, ceremony, psalmody, and divine service had always been a portion of every student's daily life. In what then did he reform education? In absolutely nothing. "There was not," says Stöckl, "a single pedagogical principle in all the teachings of the Reformation."

Luther was in no sense a reformer, but in every sense a rebel. It may even be said, and history bears out the statement, that the chaotic

⁷ Introduction to the Literature of Europe. Vol. I., pp. 197, 198.

exhibition of devastation and frenzy which accident has nick-named a "reformation," was due less to the individual qualities of the man than to the distrait temper of the times. The spirit of skepticism and the spirit of the heathen Renaissance, operating in concert for two centuries and more, had impregnated the social mass with the germs of dissolution and rebellion. Nothing was needed to bring them to life and light but a sanction, and that sanction they found in certain extravagant and subversive principles which it required one utterly devoid of Christian instinct to formulate and defend. Such a one was forthcoming in Martin Luther; and as we follow the destructive course of the work which he inaugurated, sweeping with the dread effect of the simoon over Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Iceland, Switzerland and the Netherlands—and later throughout England, Ireland, Scotland and France, we cannot but re-echo the half plaintive, half caustic lament of Erasmus: "*Ubi cumque regnat Lutheranismus, ibi Litterarum est interitus.*"

Even if no direct attack had been made upon its educational interests, the fact that Germany had been for over a century the battlefield of con-

tending parties would be sufficient explanation of the rapid decline in learning which afflicted that country in consequence of the Reformation. But a very direct and prolonged attack was made. Luther and his confrères, in their rabid denunciation of the Church and of the schools conducted by her, as all the schools at that time were, struck a blow at education, whose sorrowful results they themselves would realize and deplore when too late. In consequence of the widespread disorder, the common schools in Saxony, Brandenburg, Hanau-Muenzenburg, Weimar, Brunswick, Pomerania, Hesse, Wurtemberg, Waldeck, Lippe, Oldenburg, Pymont and Nassau almost totally disappeared. In 1528, schools for girls had ceased to exist in the Electorate of Saxony. Joachim Camerarius, a disciple and intimate friend of Melanchthon, was one of the first to bewail the sad decay of all scholarship in Germany. In 1536 he wrote to Luther: "I frequently wonder, in view of this destruction of all morality and this growing dissoluteness of life, whether it were not better to be deprived of public schools altogether, than to have institutions which seem to exist for no other purpose than to foster sin and

dissipation." In another letter, written some years later (1550) to a friend he says: "It is evident that everything has combined for the destruction of Germany, and that religion, modesty and morality must suffer extinction."

Even in those portions which remained faithful to the Church, the effect was disastrous, and the district schools of Austria and Bavaria, with few exceptions, sank to a low level, and in most cases were eventually discontinued. The Gymnasia of Nurnberg, Basle, Strasburg and Julich declined rapidly. The Latin school of Freiburg almost disappeared. Apropos of the situation, King Ferdinand I., in 1562, wrote to the Council of Trent: "In the German Gymnasia," he says, "one can now hardly find as many pupils, counting all together, as *formerly* frequented a single one of these institutions. In place of 500 or 400 students who formerly attended one of them, we find hardly more than 20 or 30. In the higher institutions of learning, in place of 1,000 we now have 300, or, at most, 400 students." While Luther, at a much earlier date, in 1524, four years after the outbreak, writing to the Burgomasters and Councils of the

cities of Germany, had this to say: "The high-grade schools are becoming weak. . . Where convents are done away with, people will no longer allow their children either to study or be taught."⁸

And this picture of the primary and secondary schools was reproduced on a much larger scale in the case of the universities. A few facts quoted from Janssen and Doellinger will suffice to show this. The ancient University of Prague, so celebrated in its day, and which, at the beginning of the fifteenth century could boast 60,000 students, had in 1550 dwindled to 8 professors and 30 pupils. That of Vienna, which in 1519 matriculated 661 students, in 1532 received only 12. That of Cologne, where 2,000 students had been the regular attendance from 1500 to 1510, in 1534 had 54. The University of Erfurt, Luther's "Alma Mater," and where, we might easily presume, the light of his educational reform shone brightest, had in 1521 only 311 pupils, and in 1527 sank to 14. Freiburg in 1617 had 78 pupils. The professors of the University of

⁸ For numerous similar facts, cf. "History of the German people since the close of the Middle Ages." Janssen. Vol. VII. Also, "The Reformation." Doellinger. Vol. I.

Heidelberg were forced to resign their chairs and seek a livelihood in some other direction, as the institution had neither funds nor pupils. In like manner, the Universities of Rostock and Greifswald became mendicant. Indeed, the complaint was general that in all the universities the professors were insufficiently paid.

Add to this the degenerate moral tone which then prevailed in most of the German universities. Murder, drunkenness, robbery, and every species of ribaldry reigned amongst the professors as amongst the students, notoriously so in the University of Ingolstadt, where, in 1531 no one could be found, owing to its turbulent condition, to assume the management. A similar state of things prevailed at the universities of Freiburg (1592), Frankfort, Marburg, Leipsic, Koningsberg, Basle, Jena, Tubingen and especially Wittenberg. In such an atmosphere, not only the humanistic studies, as Luther, Melancton, and Erasmus confessed and deplored, fell into utter disregard, but theology, philosophy, law, medicine, scripture, history, and the natural sciences suffered irreparably. Philology, with no end of controversial wrangling, characterized by temper

instead of penetration, was the main business of the schools. Paulsen, professor of philosophy and philology in the University of Berlin, and an unimpeachable witness, in his work upon German universities, has this to say upon the subject: "In the fearful tumults between 1520 and 1530, the (German) universities and schools came to almost a complete standstill, and with the Church fell the institutions of learning, which she had brought forth."⁹ Again: "At the close of this epoch (1525-1700) the universities in Germany had fallen to the lowest degree of influence and fame. They appeared as superannuated and almost degenerated institutions in comparison with the progressive culture which had its centre at the princely courts. A man like Leibnitz refused to accept a position in a university; he preferred the princely court, where he was sure to find comprehension and promotion of his ideas and extensive plans. The universities were almost without any perceptible influence upon the life and the thoughts of the pupils." "Drinking and quarrelling (saufen und rauhen) were not only related to each

⁹ German Universities. C. II. Historical Development.

other in rhyme, but flourished to such an extent in the middle of the seventeenth century, that serious steps had to be taken on the part of the State authorities to gradually re-establish some semblance of order.''¹⁰ The educational condition of affairs in Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland and the Netherlands was much the same.

Sad as the facts are, they are all that could be expected from the reform principles in vogue. Individualism, as set forth in the doctrine of private interpretation, struck at the very root of law and order. As a consequence of endless theological disputes, parishes lost all interest in the work of education. Preachers and teachers fell into disrepute, and where they should have commanded respect became a by-word and reproach. Monasteries were deserted or closed and their foundations and gratuities seized by greedy princes. So precarious did the outlook for education in Germany become, that the State had to assume the control of the free universities to keep them alive, and "Cæsaro-Papacy" was again reinstated with what lamentable results to religion and society the sequel has made painfully evident.

10 Loc. cit.

From the zeal with which Henry VIII inaugurated the work of devastation throughout England, it was clear that he did not propose to be outdone in vandalism by his German exemplars. The dissolution of the monasteries, eleven hundred in number, according to the Protestant historian Short, sounded the knell of Catholic education in the kingdom. Most of these monasteries, as we have said, conducted schools and served as feeders to the larger institutions—to the colleges scattered throughout the land and to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. They were well distributed, averaging twenty to each county. By their destruction the people were deprived of proper educational facilities, and the Northern rebellion was their answer to the treatment they had received. The royal rapacity, however, was not to rest with the destruction of monasteries and the sequestration of abbey lands. Many of the colleges and other educational institutions, with their rich endowments, presented too tempting a bait to be passed by unnoticed. Of the three hundred Halls and schools which had been built in and about Oxford alone, all, with the exception of eight, were dissolved and their revenues appro-

priated by the time Henry's programme of educational reform was finished. Moreover, ninety colleges, in different parts of the Kingdom, were not only confiscated but destroyed, while those within the two Universities of Oxford and Cambridge barely escaped a similar fate.¹¹

The effect of such vandalism was not long in making itself felt. Anthony Wood, the ancient historian of Oxford, grows wrathful as he describes the general desolation which, in consequence, seized upon that historic seat of learning. He tells us that the laundresses of the town hung out their linen to dry in the empty lecture rooms, and that one had to search for the University in the town, so obliterated had the ancient landmarks become. "In 1550 the number who passed to their degree was but fifteen, with three Bachelors of Divinity, and one Doctor of Civil Law,"—and that in an institution which in its palmy days, and before it was "reformed," could boast of thirty thousand students. Space will not allow us to detail the destruction of

¹¹ *The History and Fate of Sacrilege*, Spelman, p. 101; *Church History of England*, Dodd, Vol. I, p. 288; *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*, Gasquet; *History of the Reformation*, Cobbett; *History of the Protestant Reformation*, Spalding.

the many and valuable libraries which followed as a matter of course. Neither shall we pause to speak of the 2,734 other institutions,—some of them, like the guilds, and chantries and chapters, semi-educational in character,—which were blotted out and whose rich revenues were turned into the public exchequer. As Bayle, the Protestant Bishop of Ossory, remarks: “Neither the Britons under the Romans and Saxons, nor the English under the Danes and Normans, were so regardless of learning as they (the people) under Henry VIII.” Veritable barbarians, they stopped at nothing. They broke open and plundered the shrine of Saint Augustine. They descended so low in their quest of gold, as to rifle the tombs of Alfred the Great and Thomas à Becket, and scatter their dust to the winds while they peddled, for what it was worth, the lead of the coffins in which that venerated dust had reposed for centuries. And this pack of royal freebooters,—for Henry and Cromwell and a subsidized Parliament led the way,—perpetrated all this iniquity, as they alleged, in the furtherance of social progress and intellectual reform. Unfortunately they have been taken at their word by many who should have

known better. And to the disgrace of later times be it said, that their character and their villainy have both found apologists in historians of the ilk of Hume and Froude, two of the most reckless, barefaced prevaricators the world has ever known.

While these and like events were transpiring in Germany and England, darker scenes were being enacted in Ireland. As in religion, so in education, the policy pursued in its regard was one of utter extermination. The reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Elizabeth, James I, the period of the Commonwealth under Cromwell, and the reigns of William of Orange and the Georges have cast a blight upon that ancient home of scholars mournful to contemplate. We may say that from the day when the attempt was first made to foist the new religion upon the country, to the year 1771, when circumstances forced a mitigation of the Penal Code and Catholics were once more granted legal recognition, the educational history of Ireland is a blank. Nor was this sad condition of things a mere accident. It was by statute provided. Would you learn what provision England made for the education of her beloved Irish subjects? We quote from Bancroft, and

find his statement of facts repeated in Edmund Burke's *Tract on the Popery Laws*, as also in Hallam's *Constitutional History of England*."¹² We cannot therefore doubt them, though for the sake of common humanity and decency we would be very glad if we could. "No Protestant in Ireland might instruct a 'Papist.' 'Papists' could not supply the want by academies and schools of their own; for a Catholic to teach, even in a private family or as usher to a Protestant, was a felony, punishable by imprisonment, exile, or death. Thus 'Papists' were excluded from all opportunity of education at home, except by stealth and in violation of the law. It might be thought that schools abroad were open to them; but by a statute of King William, to be educated in any foreign Catholic school was an unalterable and perpetual outlawry. The child sent abroad for education, no matter of how tender an age, or himself how innocent, could never after sue in law or equity, or be guardian, executor, administrator, or receive any legacy or deed of gift; he forfeited all his

¹² *History of the United States*, Vol. V, p. 66 ff. *Fragment of a Tract on the Popery Laws*. Works. Vol. II, p. 402, ff. American edition. Third volume; 8vo. *Constitutional History of England*, Vol. III, ch. 18, p. 381.

goods and chattels, and forfeited for life all his lands. Whoever sent him abroad, or maintained him there, or assisted with money or otherwise, incurred the same liabilities and penalties. The crown divided the forfeiture with the informer; and when a person was proved to have sent abroad a bill of exchange or money, on him rested the burden of proving that the remittance was innocent, and he must do so before Justices, without the benefit of a jury." The penal system, of which this is but a small specimen, has been described by Edmund Burke as "a machine of elaborate contrivance, and as well-fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man." In view of which, it is not surprising that England was the last of the great European countries to interest herself in popular education, and, in the matter of results, is still bringing up the rear.

Spain and Italy were comparatively free from the destructive educational effects of the Reformation. Due allowance made for the consequences of war, in which they were so often embroiled, their educational status was

one of gradual improvement. Not so with France. For, although the Protestant movement was held in check and eventually stamped out by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes on October 22, 1685, still the vacillating policy of Francis I and his six successors down to Louis XIV, had not been without fatal and far-reaching results. It strengthened the cause of the Huguenots, whose course throughout the religious wars which desolated the country for well-nigh seventy years (1560-1628), was one of bloodshed and rapine. During a single rebellion in Dauphiny, and upon their own admission, nine hundred towns or villages were destroyed, and three hundred and seventy-eight priests or religious were put to death. It is computed that, during the entire period, over four thousand priests and monks were slain, and twenty thousand churches levelled to the ground, while monasteries and libraries innumerable were consigned to the flames, or pillaged. As late as the beginning of the eighteenth century, Mabillon and Martene, traversing France in the interest of historical research, deplored the wanton and wholesale destruction in many places, by the

Huguenots, of monasteries and antiquities of rare value. In the presence of savagery such as this, it certainly ought not to be difficult to find some extenuation for that perennial bugbear, commonly called the Saint Bartholomew Massacre.

But even the darkest cloud may have at times a silver lining. It was so in the present case. Amid the havoc which followed in the wake of the Reformation, it is interesting, for the lesson which it imparts, to observe the zeal with which the champions of the ancient faith, especially in Germany, England and Ireland, took up the cause of Catholic education. During the first twenty years of the struggle in Germany, that is to say from 1520 to 1540, the outlook was gloomy in the extreme. Schools and universities had been deserted, destroyed, or corrupted. Education in former days had been almost exclusively in the hands of monks and ecclesiastics of diverse grades. They, too, borne upon the high tide of corruption, had been swept away far beyond the safe moorings of their vows and the peace of the sanctuary of God. Even the salt of the earth had lost its savor. Of course, many remained true, but the number was

inadequate in the hands of the bishops to meet the urgent requirements of the situation. All Germany for a while seemed lost to the Church. At this juncture, God raised up a support for his suffering people in the recently established Society of Jesus. The very first followers of Ignatius Loyola—Salmeron, Lefevre, Gregory of Valencia, Le Jay, Canisius, Bobadilla, and others—were ordered by the Holy See to the scene of conflict. Some preached, some wrote, many engaged in controversy, but the majority set about the establishment of colleges as the most imperative need of the hour. Ere long they had schools in operation in Vienna, Cologne, Augsburg, Munich, Mainz, Coblenz, Paderborn, Ingolstadt, Dillingen, Munster, Trier, Heiligenstadt, Würzburg, Salzburg, Antwerp, Prague, Bamberg, and Posen. Most of the newcomers were foreigners—Spaniards, Frenchmen, and Belgians—but, despite the fact and the prejudices growing out of it, they made rapid progress even amongst their Protestant adversaries. So much attention and esteem did their success in secondary instruction attract, that in the latter half of the same century, bishops and princes alike summoned them to accept chairs of theology, phi-

losophy, and philology in many of the universities of what still remained Catholic Germany. This was the case at Dillingen, Würzburg, Ingolstadt, Cologne, and Trier. Their advent into the country was the first permanent check given to Protestantism in its stronghold. The tide which was sweeping to the South was turned and rolled northward forever. Speaking of the Jesuits, Ranke admits the unqualified character of the victory they won, and at the same time gives us to understand that Austria, Poland, Hungary, and the Rhenish provinces were saved to the Church through their instrumentality and primarily by the aid of their schools. "Far above all the rest," says Hallam, "the Jesuits were the instruments for regaining France and Germany to the Church they served. . . . The weak points of Protestantism they attacked with embarrassing ingenuity; and the reformed churches did not cease to give them abundant advantages by inconsistency, extravagance, and passion."

Not only did they revive learning; not only did they recall and purify the classics; not only were the higher studies of Scripture, theology and canon law again invested with the dignity and authority which they had

once enjoyed ; not only was religion again wedded to science as in happier mediæval times ; not only this, but Ignatius realized early the necessity of a learned and holy priesthood if the work, so successfully begun, was to be continued and perfected. To supply it, he established the now famous German College at Rome, of which Cardinal Steinhuber has lately issued the interesting history. Within its walls and at the heart of Christendom, multitudes of staunch defenders of the old faith were equipped and sent back to the fatherland to do battle in the cause of religion. Upon its roll of alumni are one Pope, 28 Cardinals, 400 Bishops and generals of Religious Orders, and not a few who as martyrs laid down their lives in heroic attestation of the truth. Catholic education was flourishing once again. Schools of every grade were multiplied. There was a steady inflow of well-trained diocesan clergy into the country. And this progress, though at times considerably hampered, continued until the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, when the concessions made to the Protestant princes contributed not a little to the shackling of Catholic educational development in Germany. The endless religious wranglings of the sectaries ;

the wars of the peasants and of the Anabaptists ; the numerous conflicts of Charles V ; and later the protracted struggles of thirty years which involved the whole of Europe, had been more than enough to wipe out the last vestige of education and learning. As a matter of fact, however, it did not. Catholic education lived on and thrived, thanks to the indomitable energy of the German people.

In England, the scene presented was somewhat different. The barbaric cruelty of the royal profligate, Henry VIII, as well as that of his unsavory offspring, Elizabeth, had been productive of a devastation in many respects sadder and more irreparable. With the demise of the boy king, Edward VI, Queen Mary succeeded to the throne in 1553. One of her first cares was to rally the poor and scattered remnants of the convents and monasteries which had escaped the fury of her father's and brother's reign. She formed them into communities at Westminster, Sheen, Sionhouse, Greenwich and other localities. Principal amongst them were the Benedictines, Carthusians, Brigittines and Franciscans. Schools were opened and for a while it seemed as if Catholic education would again revive and

flourish. But the hope was illusory. Mary's brief and turbulent reign of five years did but allow her to make a beginning. With Elizabeth's accession in 1558 (—1603) the work of proscription and persecution was resumed with tenfold fury and continued by her successor, the notorious James I. Not only were Catholic educators hounded from the soil, but jealousy and malice pursued them beyond the seas and sought by diplomatic connivance with foreign courts, especially with that of Spain, to prevent the establishment of English and Irish colleges abroad. In this, however, she failed most egregiously.

Doctor Allen, subsequently Cardinal, and other ecclesiastics were not slow to realize that the storm now on was to be one of long duration. The danger which threatened was the complete annihilation of the English Church by the utter extinction of its clergy. To obviate this and to bridge over the crisis they secured the permission of Pius V for the erection of seminaries and other educational institutions in foreign lands. Financial aid was not wanting, and one of the most graceful and touching episodes in all that dark period and a most convincing evidence of Catholic devotion to education,

tinged though it be with melancholy, was presented by the beautiful but unfortunate Mary, Queen of Scots. From the depths of her confinement in the London Tower and heedless of possible consequences to herself, she solicited by secret letter from influential friends in France all necessary help for the proper establishment and conduct of some of these institutions. The first foundation by Doctor Allen was at Douay, where the students remained until the machinations of the Dutch Huguenots forced them to seek refuge elsewhere. They found it at last, thanks to the Queen of Scots, at Rheims, in 1578, where under the patronage and protection of the Guises they established a college and soon had two hundred pupils on the roll. After fifteen years, the college at Douay was reopened. In less than two years the Rheims institution sent twenty-six students as a nucleus to the newly founded English College at Rome, and dispatched thirty-five priests to do work on the home mission. The college at Rome was established by a bull of Gregory XIII, dated April 3, 1579. Other colleges followed at Madrid, Seville, Valladolid, Saint Omer and Salamanca. Their erection was largely due to the exertions at the

Court of Spain of Father Parsons, the famous Jesuit missionary.

The religious orders were not less prompt in opening schools abroad either for general patronage or for the members of their respective bodies. Towards the close of the sixteenth century the Benedictines had monasteries and schools at Douay and at Dieulwart in Lorraine. Others followed in quick succession at Saint Malo's ; in the Faubourg Saint Jacques near Paris ; at Landsburg in Germany ; also at " Rintelin in Westphalia ; Dobran in the Duchy of Mecklenburg ; at Scharnbeck in that of Luneburg ; at Weine, in the territory of Brunswick, and at Lamspring, in the bishopric of Hildesheim." The Carthusians fled to Bruges and elsewhere in the Netherlands. The Franciscans were at Douay in 1618. The English Jesuits opened a novitiate at Saint Omer ; a college at Liege in 1616 ; another at Douay in 1620, for the special accommodation of Scotch students ; and still another at Ghent, the gift of the Countess of Arundel. Amongst the English colleges abroad, and there were more than we have mentioned, the most celebrated probably was that at Lisbon, opened about 1629. Finally, there was the college of Arras, in the University

of Paris, a stepping-stone for English students to the educational advantages which that central and advanced institution afforded. The English nuns were not less enterprising. The few who had collected together under Mary, were, of course, expelled from the country under her amiable successor. The Brigittines took refuge in Zealand, the Benedictines in Brussels, Cambray, and Ghent; the Augustinians established themselves at Louvain, the Franciscans at Gravelines and Brussels, the Theresians, or Carmelites, at Antwerp. In almost every case schools were opened and work begun abroad which it was impossible to do at home.

The conduct of the Irish people at this same sad juncture reminds us of the policy which they pursued at the time of the Danish invasion in the ninth century. Now, as then, forced to flee, they bore the torch of learning and religion, we may well nigh say, to the ends of the earth. Irish colleges and schools leaped into existence in nearly every country. They were so numerous that we can but mention some of them. They were established at Lille, Douay, Bordeaux, Rouen, Antwerp, Salamanca, Alcala, Lisbon, Evora, Rome, Louvain, Paris, Saint

Omer, and at Prague in Bohemia. In other cities, as at Coimbra, there were bourses for Irish students. Most of these institutions went down in the French Revolution. A few survived, amongst them the colleges at Rome, Lisbon, Paris and Saint Omer. The last named enjoys the enviable distinction of having been the Alma Mater of the great Irish Liberator, Daniel O'Connell. Not that all education was sought abroad. In spite of hardship and dangers, schools were surreptitiously conducted at home, but their existence, from the nature of things, was precarious and venturesome. We are all familiar with the hedge school and the inimitable description of it by Gerald Griffin in *The Rivals*. We can almost see the bare-foot boys "assembled under the hedge, with the lark caroling above them and the hawthorn bush waving playful in the wind." We can almost hear them as they "wrestle with Aristotle or chant aloud the battle-pieces of Homer; or by the winter's sun or the firelight of the long, dark evenings recite Cicero's sonorous periods, construct diagrams, or give out grammatical 'crans' some of which even the awful masters could not solve." Is it to be wondered at that under such tyrannous

oppression learning should have waned and become almost extinct in Ireland? that her monasteries and abbeys, those retreats of ancient scholarship and glorious memorials of an historic past, should stand to-day, the crumbling relics of their former selves, while over their broken archways and through their deserted halls the sea wind chaunts a requiem where erst the bards of Erin strung their harps to strains of the sweetest minstrelsy?

Such was the mock interest taken in education by the sixteenth-century reformers, and such the noble reaction against it by those whom injustice delights to stigmatize as superstitious and ignorant. Reform, it is true, was needed; but it was a sorry day in the annals of civilization when it was sought at the hands of tavern-brawlers and roisterers. From the close of the Western Schism and the days of Martin V, that is to say for a whole century prior to Luther, the Church had inaugurated measures of reform among the clergy and laity alike and even within the precincts of the Papal palace. But reform in the mind of the Church is not revolution. With her it is not a process which begins everywhere and ends nowhere. She

does not tear down under pretence of building up. Her policy, if conservative, is far-sighted and therefore gradual and stable, and if proof were needed that it was so in the present instance we find it in the profound wisdom of the Tridentine decrees in which, we may say, it has been forever crystallized.

As we traverse the history of the calamitous period covered by the century and a half immediately following the Reformation we can not but be struck by the providential wisdom of the Divine ways which knows how to compensate for losses *here* by the hundredfold *there*. As a counterpoise to the numberless defections, God raised up numerous religious organizations to do battle in the interest of Christian education. We have spoken of the Jesuits. Though their history, as Macaulay expresses it, "is the history of the great Catholic revival," they were by no means alone. There were Minims, Olivetans, Theatines, Somasquans, Barnabites, Oratorians, Carmelites, Eudists, Vincentians, Brothers of Charity, founded by John of God, Visitandines, Ursulines, and Sisters of Charity. They were all in the field, and together with the older Orders of the Church were conducting

successful schools. The Piarists, or Fathers of the Pious Schools, who accomplished so much for Catholic instruction in the latter half of the seventeenth century, were instituted in 1614, and confirmed in 1648, the year which closes the consideration of the subject embraced in the present paper. Thus, in answer to the call of the Church for heroes and heroines to fill up the gaps in her ranks, multitudes responded generously.

In answer to the same call, and, we may say, in obedience to the same law of supernatural organic development, the Church was opening, about this time, her first schools upon the Western Hemisphere, and recruiting from abroad her diminished forces at home. Catholic education had been trampled under foot in most of the European countries and was now taking refuge among the savages of the New World. Spanish missionaries pushing up from the South, and French missionaries descending from the North, had been busy from the days of Columbus letting in the light of Christian teaching upon the dark American continent from the St. Lawrence to Cape Horn, from the Atlantic to the Pacific slope. At first, it was, of course, the bare rudiments of knowledge; but when conditions

warranted, graded schools, and even colleges, were opened not only for natives, but also for the children of those who had fled from persecution at home. Both a sanction and an impulse were given to these distant labors by the institution of the College of the Propaganda in 1622 for the education of missionaries to foreign parts. Thus did history repeat itself, and the stone which the builders had rejected was fast becoming, in other climes and times, the head of the mighty corner. "The acquisitions of the Church in the New World," says Lord Macaulay, "have more than compensated her for what she has lost in the Old."

But to return to Europe. There was little prospect of a speedy change in its educational aspect. England's and Ireland's day of revival was far in the future. Germany lay exhausted by bloodshed and strife. From the first moment of Luther's apostasy she had scarcely known a day of peace. The Diets of Nuremberg, Spire and Augsburg had come to naught. The rankling animosities engendered by the reformers, those heralds of peace and enlightenment, broke out anew and were not quelled until they had engaged in their settlement well-nigh

the entire continent of Europe. The last act in this drama of carnage was the longest and bloodiest. For thirty years the tide of onset ebbed and flowed. Victory was about to declare itself in favor of the Catholic cause. Heroes like Maximilian, Ferdinand, Tilly and Wallenstein, by their superb achievements had written their names indelibly upon the scroll of ages. It did seem, for the nonce, as though the spirit of the dead would come again—as though the Catholic Germany of the days of Charlemagne and Otho would emerge from this ordeal of a century of fratricidal agony—purer, stronger, happier. Such, however, was not to be the case. In an evil hour and in obedience to a mistaken policy and to cripple his old enemy, the House of Hapsburg, Richelieu threw the influence of France into the scale against his co-religionists. In league with Gustavus Adolphus, the King of Sweden and the sworn enemy of his faith, he did what he could to crush the Catholic party. In reward for his perfidy France was apportioned Alsace, while the Church of God was robbed of some of its fairest Northern provinces and the kingdom of heaven of countless immortal souls. His efforts were crowned with what he considered

success, and the Catholics of Germany were forced to a humiliating capitulation in the shape of a compromise which has sown the seed of endless subsequent trouble. The treaty was drawn up and signed at Munster, in Westphalia, on October 24, 1648, and though canonically defective and unrecognized in many of its provisions by Innocent X, it constituted the basis of temporary agreement—a sort of live and let live—amongst the secular rulers, Protestant and Catholic. A peace that was not all a peace was thus concluded. The work of reconstruction was begun, and, for a while at least, the curtain fell upon the dark and distracted scene.

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SYSTEMS AND
COUNTER-SYSTEMS
OF EDUCATION

(1648—1800)

BY THE
REV. EUGENE MAGEVNEY, S. J.

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Systems and Counter-Systems of Education.

(1648-1800.)

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WHILE in one sense the treaty of Westphalia (1648) inaugurated a peace, in another it did but transfer the conflict between Protestantism and Catholicity from the battle-field to the class-room. No sooner was that treaty proclaimed than the work of education, so rudely and so often interrupted, was actively resumed, and the development of educational systems, which had already set in, was pushed forward on both sides with astonishing rapidity and resolution. The consideration of these systems as they come to the surface, each expressive of its own peculiar phase of thought and ideas of progress, furnishes us with the best commentary upon the educational status of the times. With Protestantism it was a strong endeavor to perpetuate, by laying siege to youthful minds and hearts, its heterogeneous theological beliefs;

with the Church, a supreme effort to recover what she had lost and to strengthen and purify what she still retained.

As we view the contestants, arrayed one against the other, their respective educational policies suggest a contrast fraught with the profoundest significance to the true philosopher of history. In the one, the non-Catholic, we discern the spirit of humanistic skepticism busily and variously at work paving the way, by slow degrees, for the infidelity of the French Revolution, in which it culminated and by which it was eventually supplanted. The repudiation of scholasticism by the Reformers and later Humanists had given an undue prominence to purely inductive methods. To both they came as valuable substitutes for what they considered the meaningless vagaries of the schoolmen. Yet, for all this, it must be admitted that they were neither new nor untried. Aristotle, the early Christian philosophers, and a whole train of mediæval writers, had been more or less familiar with them long before the *Novum Organum* of Francis Bacon had made its appearance. Bacon, it is true, emphasized and popularized them. He entered, more than any of his predecessors had

done, into the systematization of scientific details, and gave an impulse to the spirit of physical inquiry which has since revolutionized the world. Nevertheless, he was not their discoverer—only their chief formulator and propagator. It was not long before his over-zealous disciples, pushing their advocacy of the analytic method far beyond what he contemplated, rejected as altogether useless the synthetic process, from which, in any true system of philosophy, it is necessarily inseparable. The effect was inevitable. The study of the outer world; the concentration of human intelligence and energy upon mere objective phenomena; the consequent darkening and gradual elimination of the spiritual from the horizon of scientific speculation—all contributed to lead up to the gospel of materialism, which took such an easy hold upon minds already adrift on a sea of contradictions and errors, and has not even yet wholly run its destructive course in the school-room.

It requires no stretch of fancy, if the subject demanded, to trace, on the one hand, the *logical* nexus between the experimentalism of Bacon and the skepticism of John Locke a century later; or, on the other, be-

tween the skepticism of John Locke and the atheism of the philosophers of the Revolution—Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, and the Encyclopædists generally—his admirers and the champions of his principles throughout France and the world. Where the philosophy of the period had thus slipped from position to position—from irreconcilable beliefs to Naturalism, from Naturalism to Materialism, from Materialism to Skepticism, from Skepticism to Atheism—it is not surprising to find that the groundwork of the non-Catholic educational systems which cropped up under their separate patronage and influence, should have been largely permeated by the unsound principles which they invoked. A lamentable confusion of the nature of spirit and its essential relations to matter; a consequent misapprehension of the character and scope of moral responsibility; a mistaken idea of life and its purpose, and the intricate philosophy of its manifold environments, visible and invisible, could not, as a result, but find their way into the class-room and leave their impress upon the intellectual as they certainly did upon the political and social development of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

On the side of Catholicism we behold quite a different spirit at work. It may be best described as a determination to carry out to the full, now that circumstances permitted, the wise provisions of the Council of Trent upon the subject of primary, secondary, and higher education. Those provisions were sufficiently ample and explicit. Priests were to devote themselves in a special manner to the training of youths. Pastors were to instruct their flocks. Parochial schools, wherever they had declined or disappeared, were to be re-established and competent teachers secured. Every encouragement was to be given to the various religious orders recently instituted for the development of secondary instruction. Bishops were to provide their dioceses, where feasible, with seminaries for the education of the clergy. Universities still under the control of the Church were to be safeguarded from the encroachment of prevailing novelties, that no taint of suspicion might dim the lustre of their record, impair their general usefulness, or compromise the sacred authority from which they held their charter.

So spoke the Council in substance; and that its declarations filled the needs of the hour was manifested by

the readiness with which they were caught up and acted upon in the numerous provincial and diocesan synods convened throughout France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands, shortly after its adjournment in December, 1563. Perhaps in Saint Charles Borromeo, and the reforms which he set on foot in the diocese of Milan, we have the most striking illustration of the character of the new activity, as well as the clearest indication of the lines of development upon which the future educational policy of the Church was to proceed. In 1565, immediately upon assuming the duties of his high charge, he convened a provincial synod. The subject of education was foremost amongst the matters discussed by the bishops assembled. The practical upshot of their deliberations was the establishment of colleges at Milan, Pavia, Arona, Lucerne, and Freiburg. Within the diocese of Milan alone he erected six seminaries, where every facility for the most thorough training was to be had. He was fully persuaded that the primary need of religion in every age is a pious and learned priesthood. Acting upon this conviction, he undertook to accomplish for his own diocese what Saint

Vincent de Paul and the Venerable Olier were to do for the Church universal in the near future, by the institution of their now illustrious congregations. Nor did the Cardinal's work stop here. He organized scientific academies among the learned for the discussion of recondite subjects. He founded numerous poor schools, where at least the elements could be had by those whom circumstances prevented from aspiring to anything higher. He saw to it that, as far as depended upon him, not even the humblest and neediest of his flock should be deprived of the priceless boon of Christian knowledge.

We might associate with this picture as a companion piece, that of the renowned Archbishop of Braga, Dom Bartholomew of the Martyrs, doing a similar work in Portugal. We might dilate upon the labors of Cardinal Pole striving for the revival of Catholic education in England during the troubled years of Mary's reign, and while the Council of Trent, from which he had been hurriedly summoned, was still in session. But we will not, for the reason that, comprehensive as were his plans, generous as were his endeavors, they were eventually brought to naught, in the pandemonium which followed.

The purpose of the Council of Trent throughout, in all that concerned education, had been a radical and lasting reform. Its suggestions had been adopted with the most widespread and favorable results. But the evils checked and the progress made had been in the teeth of constant political upheavals which lent an air of uncertainty to undertakings and interfered not a little with that corporate endeavor which alone gives assurance of permanence and solidity. But no sooner were arms laid down, nearly a century later, by the treaty of Westphalia, than the field was free. Both parties were thrown upon the strength of their individual resources. Principles were pitted against principles—methods against methods. Each fell to the organizing of studies as the most effective means of attaining its desired end. The Germans on both sides took the lead in pedagogical development, with the French and the Italian in the second place. Most of what we have in English, with some worthy exceptions, is mere translation from one or other of these languages. Of English *Catholic* pedagogy, barring translations, we have next to nothing—a painful but a necessary admission.

Of Protestant writers of systems— if indeed we may so designate them, since many of them are rather a piecing together of details than coherent scientific structures— whose work calls for special attention as illustrating the logical development in the school-room of the teachings of the Reformation, we may mention Sturm, Ratisch, Comenius, Locke, Jean Jacques Rousseau, Francke, Basedow, Pestalozzi, Froebel, and Jacotot. Of these, the two first, Sturm and Ratisch, antedate, while the two last, Froebel and Jacotot, follow the period comprised within the limits of the present paper. Nevertheless, for the sake of clearness and to unify our reflections, we have included them under one head. There are, of course, numerous other well-known non-Catholic contributors to the subject, but as their influence has been less general we shall content ourselves with simply recalling their names. There was Ascham, the friend of Erasmus, tutor to Queen Elizabeth, and the first writer in English upon pedagogics; Dean Colet, a Catholic of doubtful leanings, founder of the famous school at Saint Paul's, London; John Milton, our great epicist, whose *Tractate upon Education*, while not embodying a system, is nevertheless

entitled to regard for its many valuable suggestions ; Richard Mulcaster, whose work on *Positions* has been described as "one of the earliest and still one of the best treatises in the English language ;" Lancaster and Bell, authors of the system which bears their name and is so widely adopted throughout Great Britain; and the celebrated Doctor Arnold, of Rugby. Among the French, Rabelais and Montaigne should be mentioned. They have furnished us with no system, but merely with views, good, bad, and indifferent, upon education—the one in his *Pantagruel*, and the other in his *Essays*. Among the Germans were Reuchlin, Trotzendorf, Neander, Herder, Rochow, Spener, Gesner, Fallenberg, Ernesti, Heyne, Semler, Gedike, Krusi, Diestesweg, Zeller, Graser, and Stephani. This list of names, which is only partial, suffices to give us some idea of the prodigious enterprise of the Protestant world in educational matters. It does not include, either, a considerable number of writers upon the theory of education and pedagogics, whose opinions are well known and are exerting no slight influence upon the trend of contemporary educational thought—such, for instance, as Bain, Mill, Hux-

ley, and especially Herbert Spencer, whose ideas, it has been asserted, will constitute the groundwork of the education of the future. Formidable, however, as this showing is, we are happy to say, and will make good the statement, that in all essential points it was off-set and in many respects anticipated by an equally extended development on the Catholic side.

Sturm, who was the first to become renowned for his educational theories, fell under the double influence of the Renaissance and the Reformation. He combines, therefore, the spirit of both and is the fittest illustration of the Protestant humanistic pedagogical epoch, which is the first in the order of time. He represents the transition from Catholicity to Protestantism in education, as Pestalozzi, more than two centuries later, would represent the transition from Protestantism to Rationalism. As he wrote at a period of revolution and change in the intellectual world, we are not surprised to find him mistaking, in many respects, the true nature and scope of his subject. The cultivation of the Latin and, to a less extent, of the Greek classics was, as we have seen, the rage, and their study constituted by far the major portion of his ten years' curric-

ulum. The vernacular, mathematics, history, and the sciences generally played but an inferior part in his pedagogical schemes. The accumulation of elegant words and phrases; the structural analysis of sentences in quest of hidden charms; the dexterous manipulation of idiomatic expressions in conversation and composition, and similar academic performances, was his highest aim, while the acquisition of a faultless classicism impressed him as the noblest object attainable by a scholar. For this reason, Cicero was the chief model of study. Strange to say, Nepos found no place on his programme—though his antipathy for the involved sentences of Livy and the concise style of Tacitus is much more readily understood. As *we* view it, his concept, like the field of mental activity which it opened up, was altogether too narrow. Still, we cannot blame him. He wrote for his *own* time and not for *ours*, and in giving the classics what seems to us an altogether undue preference, he catered, no doubt, to the unmistakable public taste of his day.

But it was not long before the Reformation and Humanism parted company. Left to itself, and with nothing but its elastic principle of

individual and independent judgment to guide it, Protestantism entered upon its chequered career in the class-room. Its first outgrowth was the school of Realism. Private interpretation in matters religious had been met half-way by the now popular Baconian theory of induction in matters scientific, and together they constituted the basis of the new educational departure. Its champions, because of the novelty of their method, were called Innovators or Progressives. Chief amongst them were Ratisch and Comenius, and later, Francke, who, however, was rather a Realistic-Pietist in that he supplemented the principles of out-and-out Realism by a strict moral training in Lutheran tenets. Realism was distinctly a reaction against the excessive formalism, which it was thought, and with reason, had distinguished as well as impaired the usefulness of other and earlier methods. Various as were its modifications, they concurred in a few fundamental principles, the bare mention of which shows us the Reformation carrying the Baconian theories to dangerous and unwarrantable extremes. Educational development, they maintained, to be logical should proceed from the concrete to the abstract. Consequently,

knowledge was not to be sought in the correlation of *a priori* principles, but only in the handling and analysis of things themselves. "Things, not words," was their motto. The student was, therefore, rather to teach himself by observation than depend on the authority of the teacher, which authority was to be reduced to a minimum. Interest was to be the ruling incentive in youth to the acquisition of knowledge, and coercion was to be avoided. As learning, like everything else, was valuable only in so far as it was here and now useful, nothing was to be studied or committed to memory which the student did not understand. We see here the beginning of a reaction not only against the excessive classicism of the Renaissance, which made all culture subservient to ancient models and authority, but also against the truths of revelation, which were not to be impressed upon youthful minds for the reason that they are unintelligible.

This was the Realistic tendency pure and simple, of which we find large traces in much of the mechanical work which goes by the name of education in our day. Ratisch did not succeed. His work, however, failed less for want of merit than

because it promised much more than it fulfilled. Besides, in some of its provisions it was impracticable and, as Von Raumer expresses it, too tedious. Thus to illustrate: In the study of authors, say of Terence, one of his pet models, we are told that the teacher, or one of the pupils, is first to read to the class each passage assigned for translation nine times—six times in Latin and three times in German. This, no doubt, for the purpose of impressing it upon the mind of the student by a sort of absorption or process of mental infiltration. In the emphasis which he laid upon the study of the vernacular and other modern languages, we behold a real and useful addition.

Comenius, who lived from 1592 to 1671, plays a much more prominent part in the historical development of Realism in education. He was a Moravian bishop. His system was remarkable for two features. First, the great extent to which he applied the Baconian principles of inductive research in pedagogics; and secondly, the practice of teaching by illustration—a practice for which he is wholly credited by many, but which, as he tells us himself, he copied from the Jesuits of Salamanca. His three

chief works are the *Methodus Novissima*, the *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, and the *Janua Linguarum Reserata*. The last is an encyclopædic text-book giving a brief history of well-nigh everything. It consists of a hundred chapters. In the ninety-ninth chapter the world comes to an end, and in the one hundredth the author bids his reader adieu. Its popularity in its day is evidenced by the fact that it was translated into twelve European and several Asiatic languages. His *Orbis Pictus* was long a favorite text-book, and for two hundred years held its own in the schools of Germany.

The modified Realists, while accepting as a working principle the motto, "things, not words," added to the study of nature an organized system of moral training. From this fact they were called Pietists. Francke, who died in 1727, was foremost in the work. He was a professor of Greek and Oriental languages at the University of Halle, then recently founded, mainly through the enterprising efforts of the celebrated Spener, his associate in much that he undertook. His educational ventures were varied and included the establishment of orphanages and normal schools, of neither of which can he, with any truth, be said to have

been the original projector. The features of his system may be briefly summarized as follows: Strict moral training; the neglect of Greek classics and the substitution in their stead of the New Testament; the study of Hebrew for its Biblical importance, and the vernacular; and finally, the cultivation of the "Realien" or Real Studies. As was to have been expected, opposition was soon developed against the strict moral regime which he everywhere sought to enforce. It was set down as cant and hypocrisy and more calculated to warp and falsify than to develop and ennoble character. In spite of attacks, though, his methods, his popularity, and many of the results of his labors have survived to our times.

Simultaneously with the progress of the realistic schools, whether purely such or modified by Pietism, we behold the advocates of Humanism still clinging to the ancient classics as the true basis of education; making, however, as they went along, such concessions to Realism as the necessities of the period seemed to demand. Their position, it would seem, was not altogether unlike that of many of our modern colleges whose curricula are made up of classical and commer-

cial studies. They were known as reformed Philologists, because they occupied, by reason of new principles, a place in advance of that held by the old philologists without, by any means, accepting the theories of the Realists, in their totality. They attempted a sort of *via media* between two extremes, and in the unsatisfactory attempt to effect a compromise, emphasized the shortcomings of both, and prepared the way for the still more radical stand taken by the Naturalists.

The principle of Naturalism which had been long at work, found its first notable development in England and its chief exponent in John Locke—the so-called “Father of English philosophy.” It soon overspread France and Germany and forced its way into everything—literature, science, art, and life. It was an apotheosis of Nature and meant a complete rejection of revelation. Of course, it very soon worked itself into pedagogics, and, not satisfied with the study of nature as the Realists had been, pushed its position to the extreme of asserting that beyond nature there was nothing to study. It was the Baconian theory and Realism gone mad. Its principles, as far as they have to do with our present subject, may be briefly

summarized as follows: (a) All training and instruction should be divorced from positive Christianity, and recognize as religion only that which the laws of nature teach. (b) Consequently, the teacher's attitude towards his pupils is not to be positive, *i. e.*, he is not to communicate knowledge by precept, but allow his charge by observation and reflection to bring into play the powers of his mind and thus educate himself. Let the student *grow*, and under the spontaneous influence of environment attain to the maturity of his natural capacities. (c) Moral instruction should not be explicitly imparted. The child is to develop unaided his moral instincts—for to anything higher he is not expected to ascend. The teacher's influence, as far as it is exerted at all, is to serve merely as a preventive, warding off all attacks upon virtue, but suggesting nothing. Physical culture, which was practically ignored in previous systems, is to be sedulously attended to—a physical culture that will harden the system and render it proof against outside attacks.

We have said that Naturalism took its rise and, in the person of John Locke, found its chief exponent in England. It was in France,

however, and a century later, that it was to attain its first great popularity at the hands of its most enthusiastic patrons and heralds. These were the French Encyclopædists, of whom Voltaire was the prince and leader. They saw in the sensism of the English philosopher the materialistic principles which would best serve their purpose and enable them to bring to flower and fruit, as they subsequently did at the period of the Revolution, the deistic and atheistic tendencies which distinguish that epoch of universal intellectual fermentation. Speaking of the French *philosophes*, Heine, who was in perfect accord with their views, says: "The Essay on the Human Understanding became their gospel—the gospel they swore by." Not that they had been altogether uninfluenced by "the earlier writers of their own country," as, for instance, by Montaigne and Bayle; but, as they themselves admitted, Locke was their master and leader.

Beginning with Locke himself, the Naturalists felt that they had a mission to perform, and, destructive as it was, began its accomplishment in the field of pedagogics. In the principles which they advocated Realism found an ally;

Humanism, its great antagonist; and the Rationalism of the present century, the germ element of its prolific life and activity. Locke's *Thoughts upon Education*, Rousseau's *Emile*, and Basedow's *Elementary*, are the best formulation of the naturalistic educational views. Locke, who was born in 1632, published his *Thoughts upon Education* in 1693. They are embodied in the maxim, *mens sana in corpore sano*. His philosophical bias limited his idea of development to the study of the material world, while his profession of medicine led him to lay too great stress upon the cultivation of hygiene. He furnishes us with no system, and some of his ideas upon physical culture are extremely novel, but would hardly commend themselves to the medical fraternity of our times. The following may serve as a specimen of much more: The child is to be educated at home and not at school. He is to be made to wash his face in cold water once a day. His shoes should be thin, and, if need be, full of holes, so as to let in water whenever he comes too near it; this will make him careful and teach him prudence. While young he should not be allowed to eat flesh meat, and when old should be permitted it only once a day. For breakfast he should

be given brown bread with or without butter. His drink should be small beer, and his physic poppy-water. This process is intended, he says, to harden children as they grow up, though, as Herbert Spencer dryly remarks, it was a process far more calculated to harden them out of existence.

Jean Jacques Rousseau, (1712 to 1778), embodied in his *Emile* many of the suggestions of his English predecessors. While not a formal treatise, *Emile* is distinctly an educational work. Largely speculative, much that it contains was reduced to practice later, especially by Pestalozzi and Froebel. It has been characterized as "a superfine Sanford and Merton," the education of Emile and Sophie furnishing the author with an opportunity of ventilating his educational theories. The work, while containing much that may be instructive, abounds in paradoxes and crudities. As an example of the dangerous absurdity of some of its principles, we may cite the following: "Let us lay it down as incontrovertible," he says, "that the primary impulses of nature are always right. There is no native perversity in the human heart"—a pagan sentiment which the Roman

writer had expressed before him:—
“Homo sum, et humani a me nil alienum
puto.”

With such principles, it is not surprising that it exercised a most pernicious influence towards the close of the eighteenth century.

Basedow, whom we have selected as the third representative of the Naturalistic school, was a German, and lived from 1723 to 1790. As Locke had influenced Rousseau, so, in turn, Rousseau's *Emile* did much to determine the direction of Basedow's educational activity. Indeed, his root-ideas are those of Rousseau. His chief merit lay in the variety by which he sought to render class-work interesting, as also in the store which he set by conversation as the most effective means of acquiring language. True to the principles upon which his system was operated, no religious training was imparted, save that of a “human, superficial, lifeless and absurd patchwork of natural religion,” as Barnard phrases it. A child's natural inclinations were to be directed, but never suppressed or supplemented by anything higher, for nature is always right and self-sufficient. With the aid of friends he succeeded in erecting at Dessau his famous school called the

Philanthropinum, an institution wherein Nature was to be strictly followed and in which all were to partake upon an equal footing of the educational benefits which it had to bestow. In it much attention was given to physical exercise, and for the first time, says Quick, gymnastics were introduced into the school curriculum. Basedow remained at the head of its staff of professors until a dissipated life necessitated his removal. Despite the connection with it of Camp, Saltzmann, Wolfe, Wolke, Olivier, Mathieson, Bahrdt, and other pedagogues of note, it never enjoyed a large attendance, though it was patronized from great distances. While in a measure it stimulated educational enterprise on its own peculiar lines in other parts of Europe, especially in Switzerland and Russia, it gradually declined and was closed in 1793.

The attitude assumed by the Naturalists had been too boldly asserted for the taste of many. Their position, it was thought, was extreme and radical. Out of the conflict there arose in pedagogics the school of Modern Illuminism, which, though in reality nothing more than Rationalism, seemed to differ from it by reason of the religious element which it sought to emphasize

in education. Its champions, Rochow, Heineke, Herder, and notably Pestalozzi, were imbued with the principles of religion and eager to re-assert its claims to a place in the class-room. Unfortunately, however, religion, as they conceived it, bore no kinship to positive Christianity. Whether they knew it or not, it was simply the old Realism masquerading under a new name, and waiting until the infidel philosophy of the eighteenth century in Germany and France would summon it to life again. Pestalozzi was the most celebrated representative of this school, which fills the transitional period from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century. He was born in 1746 and died in 1827. Like many who had preceded him, and like most of those who were his contemporaries, he had been largely influenced by the *Emile* of Rousseau. In his three works, *Leonard and Gertrude*, *How Gertrude Teaches her Children*, and the *Book for Mothers*, he sets forth his views. In some respects they differ but little from those of Basedow and the Naturalists generally. In others they are more original. The defects in his method have been reduced to the following three or four. Too much stress was laid upon speculative studies.

The knowledge imparted was not sufficiently positive. "Simplification was carried too far. Too little attention was given to historical truth and to testimony," as a criterion of evidence—particularly in what concerned religion, the knowledge of which he looked upon as innate. His system had to do with elementary education merely, and furnished his pupil, Froebel, with many of the ideas which he subsequently wove into his *Kindergarten*. His method of instruction became exceedingly popular, and, with few modifications, is still largely in vogue in Germany. Pestalozzi is the link between the old and new, and, in the opinion of his admirers, has been the largest contributor to the educational progress of his age. With him the science of non-Catholic pedagogical development ceased. The last century simply fell heir to the principles and works of its predecessor.

Froebel (1783-1852) and Jacotot (1770-1840) are an inheritance from the eighteenth century. Whatever credit we may give them for the details of their respective systems, the principles of the "Kindergarten" and "Self-instruction" were not new. For this reason Froebel and Jacotot are

more properly called methodizers than inventors of systems. The former, Froebel, did much towards converting the waste energies of earlier childhood into channels of activity. His attempts, whatever their results elsewhere, have been heartily responded to in Germany, Switzerland, Holland, France, the United States, and to some extent in England. The Kindergarten movement is spreading rapidly, and its literature is becoming daily more and more abundant. Jacotot's method of self-instruction, which he himself summarized in the four words—learn, repeat, reflect, and verify—has become practically obsolete, though traces of it are still to be met with in some of the schools of Belgium and France. There are not wanting those, however, amongst them Mr. Payne, who believe that in its principles at least it is destined to revive—that “the soul of it will, some day, be infused into a new body, to be succeeded, perhaps, by another and another educational metempsychosis as we advance in our conceptions of the true relations between teaching and learning.” Whether such will ever be the case or not we must leave to the future to decide.

We have mentioned these various

non-Catholic systems since a right understanding of the principles from which they sprang, and which they were fashioned to propagate, will enable us more fully to appreciate the scope and character of contemporaneous Catholic development, which, while founded throughout upon one and the same eternal truth, varied in accidental structure to suit the changing exigencies of the times. Counter-systems they may be designated, since they were intended to stem the current of heresy so busily at work in the class-room during the period of their respective evolution. The only Catholic system formulated before the year 1648 was that of the Jesuits. The monasteries, it is true, centuries previous to the foundation of the Society of Jesus, had their *Trivium* and *Quadrivium*; but the monastic courses of study were a very variable quantity, and in scarcely two instances did *Trivium* and *Quadrivium* mean exactly the same thing. They were strangers in those days to educational systems as the word is now commonly understood. Ignatius of Loyola realized the need, and his object in the establishment of the Company was not merely to supply the Church with a corps of teachers, for she had never

been without them, but with one organized upon definite lines and suited to the new requirements, and whose very compactness would render it an efficient aid in her hands for the refutation of error and the dissemination of truth. In consequence, a uniform educational plan was immediately drafted and put on trial in the colleges of his Order. In the general Congregation which elected his successor in 1558, the method hitherto in vogue was discussed, and modified, and made the groundwork of the "*Ratio Studiorum*," as it was still further enlarged and improved under the generalship of Aquaviva in 1584. This is not the place to discuss the "*Ratio*" as a system. Sufficient to say that it has served its purpose in the department of both secondary and higher education, for three hundred years, and is still the law for the government of Jesuit institutions of learning. In its scope it extends from grammar to divinity, and, in not a few of its provisions, anticipated many of the supposed original features of later systems.

The next system of Catholic education which made its appearance was that of the French Oratorians, founded by Cardinal de Berulle in 1611. The Oratorians accomplished much during

the two centuries of their existence. The object of the Order was twofold—the training of the diocesan clergy and public instruction. Some idea of the rapidity with which it spread may be gathered from the fact that when the founder died, in 1629, it had already established schools in numerous cities of France, as also in Rome, Madrid, Constantinople, and throughout the Netherlands. It had at least fifty institutions in operation. Malebranche and Masillon may be named as amongst its eminent scholars. Thomassin, the well-known theologian, belonged to the Order, and has embodied in his *Methode d'Enseigner et d'Etudier*, its system of education. Unfortunately, some of its members fell into Cartesianism in philosophy, and into Jansenism in theology, which gave rise not only to discord within the body itself, but to censure and mistrust without. It was therefore not surprising that at the time of the French Revolution many of them took the civil oath and joined the Constitutional Church. The Congregation itself was finally dissolved, but Pius IX. restored it in 1864 under the title of the Oratory of the Immaculate Conception—Père Gratry and Cardinal Perraud being its most illustrious ornaments in our day.

We spoke of Jansenism. Let us say a word in passing about the famous community of Port Royal. We say "in passing," for as educators its members accomplished comparatively little, and hence need not detain us long. Writers of the stamp of Saint-Beuve, Compayre, and Oscar Browning, with whom historical exactness is not a specialty, have striven hard to encircle their memories with a halo of pedagogical renown, less, it would seem, out of regard for them than to asperse their traditional foes, the Jesuits. The truth is, they never had more than fifty pupils at any one time in their schools, while the schools themselves flourished for only fifteen years. Their educational method was certainly not without its good features, and some men of rare parts, notably Arnoudt, Quesnel, Lancelot, and the witty Pascal, whose *Provincial Letters*, in spite of their fictitious contents, have made him famous, were found amongst them. Their peculiar theological views, however, made them a menace to the Church. Here was the cause, and not a professional jealousy, of the persistent attacks upon them by the Society of Jesus. Their sympathisers, when dwelling so pathetically upon the harsh treatment

which they sustained at the hands of the Order, should not fail, as they invariably do, to inform the reader that this opposition was more than sanctioned by Clement XI., whose Bull "*Unigenitus*," published in 1713, wiped Jansenism out of existence; while the legislation of subsequent pontiffs administered the death-blow to its serpentine spirit still lurking in the grass. The Port Royalists, like the dark heresy which they sought to foist upon the Church, are now things of the past. Peace, then, to their memories, their ashes, and their souls.

The most celebrated name in Catholic educational annals in the seventeenth century is doubtless that of Saint John Baptist De La Salle. It is impossible, within the short compass of a few lines, to give even a reasonably partial account of this great and holy man, who has been styled "the founder of modern popular education." "Let me control the education of a child," Voltaire is said to have remarked, "for the first ten years of its life, and I will allow you to do with it afterwards what you please." It was acting upon a similar principle, but with a widely different object in view, that De La Salle opened his numerous schools, mainly

elementary, but so comprehensive in their scope as to include schools of secondary education, day and boarding schools, Sunday-schools, normal schools, reformatories, and institutions for technical training. He was the first to systematize scientifically elementary education. His organization of it, as set forth in the *Management of Christian Schools*, was complete throughout, and was the original of much that has subsequently come into vogue. The fame of his work spread rapidly, and ere long he had establishments in many of the cities of France—Paris, Rheims, Dijon, Marseilles, Alais, Moulins, Mons, Versailles, and elsewhere. From France his sons traveled to the ends of the earth. At the time of his death, in 1719, the Order possessed 27 houses, 274 members with 9,885 pupils under instruction. Thereafter its growth was rapid and uninterrupted until the French Revolution, when it suffered considerably because of its fidelity to the Church. Without an exception, its members refused to take the civil oath, and many sealed with their blood their testimony to the truth. Napoleon I legalized their existence in France as an authorized corporation, and the good work for which

they were so eminently qualified was resumed in virtue of a law to that effect passed in 1802. "In 1880 the Brothers had under their charge 2,048 schools, with 325,558 scholars, of whom over 286,000 were being instructed gratuitously. Of this number of students France and her colonies contributed 261,000; Belgium nearly 19,000; the United States, Canada and Spanish America 36,000; and England upwards of 2,000. Nearly 12,000 brothers, 5,000 professors, and 2,500 novices were engaged in the work."

The work thus begun by De La Salle was taken up and multiplied by various Congregations organized upon similar lines. Of these, the most prominent were the Christian Brothers of Ireland, founded by Mr. Rice at Waterford, in 1802; the Congregation of Christian Doctrine, founded in 1820 by the Abbé De Lamennais, brother of the unfortunate but still more celebrated philosopher and publicist of the same name; the Brothers of Saint Joseph, founded by Dujarrie, Priest of Roueille-sur-Loire, in 1823; the Baillard School-Brothers, founded in 1837, and the School-Brothers of Chamiade and of Puy.

Though the Benedictines are the

oldest educational Order in the Church, their school system was not formulated till the days of Mabillon, towards the close of the seventeenth century (1691). The circumstances which led to the composition of his *Traité des Etudes Monastiques*, in which that system is embodied, are interesting. They grew out of a controversy between himself and the fascinating but austere De Rancé at the period of which we are writing, the Abbot of the Monastery of La Trappe, the great reformer of his Order, and celebrated throughout all Europe for his extreme severity of life and views. De Rancé, in a work entitled *De Vitae Monasticae Officiis*, had advanced the statement that monks should eschew literary pursuits as foreign to their vocation and devote themselves entirely to prayer and penance. Mabillon, in defence of his own Order at which the strictures of De Rancé seemed especially aimed, wrote his treatise, which consists of three parts. In the first he points out that the cultivation of letters is not only not foreign to the monastic state, but necessary for its proper development and efficiency. In the second he enumerates the studies best suited to monks and the proper method of their pursuit. Fi-

nally, he enlarges upon the end which monks should propose to themselves in the cultivation of learning. The controversy waxed, and rejoinder followed rejoinder, with the fortunate result that neither lost his temper and the views of a great scholar have been contributed to the fund of Catholic pedagogical lore. Charles Rollin, the historian, who died in 1742 and whose position as Rector of the Paris University and professor of rhetoric for many years, had familiarized him with his subject, has left us an interesting treatise upon the manner of studying and teaching belles-lettres. The work has been translated into various languages and is familiar to most readers. Sad to narrate, its author was betrayed into the errors of the Port-Royalists, for whom he cherished a high admiration. The result was his public deposition from office in 1730. The remainder of his life was spent in retirement at Beauvais, where he died, clinging to his erroneous opinions to the last.

The growth of Catholic pedagogy in Germany, while rapid and durable, was accomplished in spite of difficulties hardly equalled in any other country. The dreadful havoc of the Reformation; the almost complete ex-

tion of education by the ravages of the 'Thirty Years' War; and the gradual development, as a result of the principles of the Reformation, of a spirit of skeptical rationalism and infidelity, made the outlook a dreary one indeed. But there was a compensation for the situation in the dauntlessness and persevering energy of those of its people who had held by the ancient faith. Where the circumstances of the times allowed, schools and teachers had been provided and, in many instances, at a great sacrifice. When the enemies of religion carried their errors into the class-room and framed them into systems, there were not lacking those who could do a similar work in behalf of truth and in the interests of the Church of God. Conspicuous amongst them were Ignatius Felbiger, John Sailer, and Bernard Overberg. Felbiger, a priest, a canon, an abbot, and State Superintendent of education in the Austrian Dominion under Maria Teresa, was one of the most distinguished Catholic educationists of the eighteenth century. Travel and observation, allied to a constructive faculty of mind and comprehensive research, eminently fitted him for the authorship of a *General Course of Studies* for the normal,

high and secondary schools, which met with the royal approbation in 1774 and was adopted throughout the empire. His system was known as the "Sagan Method" from the place in which he lived. Sailer and Overberg were contemporaries and the work of one was largely supplementary to that of the other. What Sailer was in theory, Overberg was in practice. While one in his system insists upon principles, the other occupies himself with their application. Sailer was at first a Jesuit, but, upon the suppression of the Order in 1773, studied for the diocesan priesthood. His promotion was rapid. He began as assistant professor of dogma at the University of Ingolstadt. His next summons was to the episcopal university at Dillingen, where he filled the chair of ethics and pastoral theology. In 1820 he was appointed coadjutor to the Bishop of Regensburg, whom he succeeded in 1829. He died in 1832. His chief title to renown, conjointly with his pedagogical labors, is the strenuous opposition which he offered, and prevailed upon his clergy to offer, to the spirit of Rationalism and its offshoots, by the diligent safeguarding of the minds and hearts of the young against its contamination.

Equally celebrated with Felbiger and Sailer, Bernard Overberg was, like them, a priest. He won his great reputation not merely as a teacher and school director, but also for the numerous text books which he published. The Normal School at Munster was put under his supervision; and while some, amongst them Dr. Stöckl, consider his method hardly equal to the demands of later times, he did a giant's work in his day, the beneficial results of which are still plainly discernible. He died in 1826 at the age of 72.

As in France and Germany, so in Italy the champions of the Church were not idle. Many of them wrote abundantly and well upon the subject of Catholic education. And while some were betrayed, by the seductive influence of State patronage, into a spirit of so-called Christian liberalism, which has marred their work and dimmed their reputations, others held aloft and unwavering the torch of truth and doctrine. Foremost among them were Raphael Lambruschini, Rayneri, and the unfortunate but brilliant Antonio Rosmini Serbati. All were priests and have given the world a method of education. Lambruschini distinguished himself in the field of

pedagogics, first as a professor at Florence and subsequently as the indefatigable editor of numerous journals of education, books for the young, and scientific treatises upon pedagogics. The most famous, as expressing his ideal concept of a perfect education, is his *Dell' Educazione*, published in 1849. He was an active leader in all Catholic educational movements. His co-religionists, however, viewed his liberalistic tendencies with no slight misgiving, while the State showed its appreciation of the same by showering upon him numerous honors; by using his services in various educational reforms; and by conferring upon him a seat in the National Senate. Rosmini, while less of an educator, far surpassed Lambruschini in other departments of knowledge. In his posthumous work entitled *Method in Education* he has covered in theory the entire ground traversed by his contemporary, Froebel, in the "Kindergarten" system, but with a luminous mental grasp which Froebel never possessed. The work is full and interesting, and like most of what he wrote, especially in metaphysics, is characterized by a power of analysis which cleaves the subject to its bottom. The founder

of a religious congregation, a man of rare piety, and one, let us believe, of great singleness of purpose, it is to be regretted that his unsound opinions in some matters should have necessitated the public condemnation of certain of his works by Leo XIII. But if Lambruschini and Rosmini marred their labors by the mistakes into which they fell, John Antonio Rayneri is above reproach. He was born in 1810 and died in 1867. His pedagogical influence was greater than even that of Lambruschini. He lectured upon pedagogy for twenty years at the University of Turin. His chief production, *Della Pedagogica*, has immortalized him. It has been styled an "epoch-making" work, for the reason that it embodied the first successful attempt to construct upon scientific principles a thoroughly up-to-date system of education. The effect of his voluminous writings and tireless activity has been the development in Italy, in our own times, of a great pedagogical school, which stands as a barrier to the progress of anti-Catholic liberalism, which taints while it constitutes the stock-in-trade of most of our modern educational theories.

As will be observed, we have confined our remarks to those merely who, by

the formulation and successful operation of systems, may truly be said to have been the saviors, as they certainly were the chief propagators, of Catholic education in the troubled periods with which they were respectively identified. There were many others whose work, if not so prominent, was nevertheless considerable and deserves our gratitude. Among them let us recall with honor: in France, Bossuet, Fénelon—whose *L'Education des Filles*, written at the request of the Duchess de Beauvillier, is still popular and widely read; Fleury, Church historian and Cardinal; Dupanloup, the celebrated Bishop of Orleans; and the Abbé Gaume, whose *Paganism in Education* led to a controversy on the classics at one time famous. In Belgium, Von Bommel, Bishop of Liege. In Germany, Kindermann, Wittemann, Kudler, Franz, Michael, Vierthaler, Devora, Jais, Galura, Gruber, Milde, who died as Archbishop of Vienna; Demeter, Stapf, Van Wessenburg, Bursch, Hergenroether, Zeheter, Rottels, Barthel, Kellner, Ohler, Alleker, and Rolfus and Pfister, joint authors of the great Catholic educational encyclopædia and others. In Italy, Berti, Poli, Uttini, Becchia, Thomasseo, Paravi-

cini, Columbini, and Ferucci, the two last being women.

With the full energy of its members and the combined strength of its hierarchical organization brought into play to arrest error, it was not surprising that the Church made rapid progress in the work of education from the close of the 'Thirty Years' War (1648) to the outbreak of the French Revolution. This was particularly the case in France, Germany and Italy. In evidence of the advancement made we have but to cite, by way of illustration, the fact that at the time of its suppression, in 1773, when the spirit of revolt was already abroad, the Society of Jesus had in France 86 colleges. In 1789, upon the eve of the Revolution, the Oratorians were conducting 36 similar institutions, while the Brothers of the Christian Schools had over 100 houses of their Order in active operation. Add to this the splendid and organized work being done by the bishops and the diocesan clergy in every diocese and parish of the land; by seminaries, great and small; by cathedral, parochial, and select schools almost without number. Add to it again that at the same period there were not less than 40 religious orders and congregations, male

and female, devoted to education. This was in France alone; but we may say that proportionally the same progress had been made in other Catholic countries. Not less than eight Catholic universities were founded in Europe between 1648 and 1800. "In grammar schools and colleges," says Barnard "France was as well provided in 1789 as in 1849." Religious bigotry and persecution rendered a like progress impossible in England, Ireland, Scotland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden, while endless political broils begot a similar condition of affairs in Spain. The bare list of champions in the cause of Catholic education who flourished during the period under consideration is matter of astonishment; while a comparative study of pedagogical work accomplished by our Catholic forefathers and by those who delight in aspersing the Church as the parent of ignorance, reveals facts that are not sufficiently known, and which prove that in the matter of education she has forestalled by many years much of the boasted progress to which later times have unjustly laid claim.

We are in a situation at this late date to look back over a stretch of several centuries and put a few perti-

nent questions, whose answers are not far to seek. For instance, who was the founder of universities, with their varied equipment, and which saw their palmiest days before and not since the Reformation? The Catholic Church. Who was the founder of colleges? The Catholic Church. With whom did the ideas of popular education and free schools originate, and by whom were they most liberally encouraged? The Catholic Church. "To the Christian Church," says Barnard, speaking of the ages before the Reformation, "belongs the high credit of first instituting the public school, or rather the parochial school, for the elementary education of the poor." Again, after speaking of the mediæval development of primary instruction, he adds: "Such was the origin of the popular school, as now generally understood, everywhere the offspring and companion of the Church." Who was the originator of the Normal School? The Catholic Church. "The earliest movement toward the professional training of teachers," remarks the same writer, "was made in France by the Abbé De La Salle, while canon of the cathedral at Rheims in 1681, and perfected in his training school for his institute of the Brothers of the

Christian Schools in 1684." Who was the founder of the Sunday schools? The Catholic Church. Two hundred years before they were dreamt of in England, Charles Borromeo established the first on record in the cathedral of Milan. It is still in operation—"the oldest Sunday school in the world," as Barnard calls it. The work which he thus began, De La Salle enlarged upon and perfected a century later. Who was the founder of industrial schools, manual as well as technical? The Catholic Church. In the monasteries, and as early as the days of Charlemagne, we find them flourishing. The Abbé Secretain, in his work upon the subject, speaking of the monastery of Saint Gall says: "The monastery of Saint Gall, dating from 810, may serve as an example. We find there workshops for shoemakers, armorers, shieldmakers, turners, curriers, goldsmiths, locksmiths, blacksmiths, fullers, etc. . . . Nothing could come up to the solicitude of the Cistercians for the laboring classes, and it is in the abbeys of this Order that the most perfect organization of manual labor is found." The pioneer of technical education in modern times was John Baptist De La Salle. "The fundamental axiom, now

old, but in his day new, 'that the unity of science governs the multiplicity of its applications,' was enunciated by him as the basis of the teaching in his central school of arts and manufactures." Who was the founder of orphan asylums? The Catholic Church. Who was the founder of reformatories and refuges? The Catholic Church. And going further into particulars, we may put a final question: To whom does the credit belong of having introduced the classics into the curriculum of modern studies as an invaluable basis for a process of mental training? The Catholic Church. Sturm thought to secure a monopoly of the honor by accusing the Jesuits of having stolen the idea from him. The truth of the matter is that the honor belongs exclusively neither to the Jesuits nor to Sturm. Prior to the advent of either, the Brothers of the Common Schools had a well-graded system of Latin classes in operation in their institutions. And before them we find the same in some of the more advanced monastic and cathedral schools. Thus, as an example, the renowned William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, nearly two hundred years before the establishment of Sturm's Academy at

Strasburg, had had a Latin curriculum of four years' duration in his college. Some idea of the proficiency to which his pupils attained may be gathered from a wager made by one of them that in a single night's time he would compose two hundred Latin verses with not more than two or three mistakes—a wager which, we are told, he won. Thus we might go on almost indefinitely, with ever the same answer. It was the Church which laid the foundation of much more of our educational progress than many are prepared to admit. It is true that little provision was made in the old curricula, whether Catholic or non-Catholic, for physical science. But to criticise them for the lack of it is both illogical and unfair. We must not forget that physical science is largely a product of later, especially nineteenth century, development. Particularly is this true of geology, chemistry, comparative anatomy, paleontology, biology, and a very large and important portion of natural philosophy. We have no more right to blame the scholars of those days for their unacquaintance with such matters than we would have to censure our grandfathers of the Revolution for their ignorance of "X" rays, or the function

of protoplasm in the evolutionary theory of life.

But if the educational development within the Church was rapid and thorough and widespread during the period under consideration, it was not more than she needed to face the dreadful ordeal to which the close of the eighteenth century was to subject her. Protestantism had run itself out in countless and contradictory forms of absolute negation. Pantheism in Germany, Deism in France, Naturalism in England, and mental unrest and defiance everywhere had been long at work preparing the world for the greatest political, social, and moral cataclysm it had ever witnessed. We refer, of course, to the French Revolution. What a strange compound of volcanic elements! It embodied the spirit of the barbaric invasions in its vandalism and greed; that of the Reformation in its rejection of all authority in Church and religion. But it added to both an element distinctively its own, the repudiation of all authority even in the State, substituting for law and order the most unbridled license, paraded under the fictitious names of liberty, equality, and fraternity. Its oncoming was ominous in the extreme. It changed

the map of Europe. It broke sceptres and crumbled thrones. It infused into the history and philosophy of life the most subversive theories and principles. Protestantism, which had been for long trifling with the danger, was caught up by the vortex and went down in the confusion, the inexorable logic of events substituting in its stead Rationalism, pure and simple, or disguised under one or other of the effete denominational makeshifts of our times. The Church, while destined to survive it all, naturally enough felt the shock and nowhere more tellingly than in her educational interests. Her teachers were put to death, her schools disbanded, her children wrested from her and brought up in ignorance of their first and paramount duties. The object aimed at by its promoters was unmistakably the utter extinction of all ideas of God and religion as a necessary condition of prosperity and happiness. The advocates of the Revolution had promised much on its behalf. It was to have inaugurated an era of universal intellectual emancipation and reform, and to have sundered forever the bonds which centuries of superstition had forged for the minds and hearts of men. It promised this and more, but realized nothing save

destruction and chaos. And as we pause to analyze the import of its profound moral, as read in the sequel of the last hundred years, we are reminded again of the oft-repeated lesson, which the world finds it so hard to learn, that the basis of all true culture and intellectual progress, as well as the secret of all harmony in the complicated framework of our mysterious, individual natures, is the Catholic religion—while the truth of the poet's words is brought home to our minds with ever renewed force and beauty:

“ Let knowledge grow from more to more,
But more of reverence in us dwell;
That mind and soul, according well,
May make one music as before
But vaster. ”—



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